

IN YA FACE #4

THE ZINE FROM BARRICADE BOOKS AND INFO SHOP



INSIDE: Squatting, What is Anarchism?, Days of Class struggle in Greece, Noam Chomsky: Who's side are you on?, What is Barricade Books?, Stolen Children, Book reviews, Reclaim the streets, Recycling, and more.....

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Who we are:

Barricade Information Centre aims to distribute information and literature of a radical anarchist/libertarian nature which is not generally available. We stock books, pamphlets, periodicals, zines, newspapers, posters, t-shirts, records/cds/tapes and patches. We aim to stock material on a wide range of related topics including:

- squatting
- scamming
- feminism
- gay and lesbian activism
- environmentalism
- indigenous rights
- class war
- prison rights
- anarchosyndicalism
- animal rights
- pranks and mischief
- conspiracy theories
- alternative lifestyles
- anti-nuclear activism
- international and local grass-roots struggles
- contemporary political culture

As well as making anarchist and related literature available in Melbourne we aim to provide an outlet for local publishing and for groups and individuals producing libertarian material. As well as the bookshop, Barricade includes a resource centre with a large anarchist/libertarian/radical library covering a wide range of topics in both book and periodical form. We have back issues of many radical international and Australian publications, available for loan or for photocopy in the Information Centre. We welcome students of all ages and levels to use our resources for assignments and research. Barricade also contains a community meeting space where libertarian groups can arrange to meet for a small cost. We also host a monthly fundraising cafe and entertainment or discussion night in conjunction with Food Not Bombs, on the last Saturday of the month at 7 pm.

The bookshop is operated by a collective of anarchists. We aim to make our policy decisions collectively, to share our responsibilities and otherwise operate according to our political principles. We are non-profit in outlook and practise - all work in the shop is voluntary and unpaid. For this reason our books, records and other stock are much cheaper than you'll pay in trendy record or bookshops where you might find some similar material. We aim to make radical literature accessible to all, not just the rich. We have no funding from state, church or any other institution. Barricade Information Centre collective is comprised of many nationalities and we strive towards anti-sexism, anti-racism and anti-homophobia.

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Barricade Information Centre is on the No. 19 tram line and a short walk from Jewell Railway station on the Upfield line.

WE HATE YUPPIES

Neo nazi thugs offer their services to Hanson

The Queensland director of Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party, Peter James, said on August 6 that the party would accept "support" offered to it by the Adelaide based neonazi outfit "National Action" (NA). NA fuhrer Michael Brander offered "One Nation" the services of its bully boys to "defend" One Nation meetings from "leftist mobs".

In an attempt to intimidate anti-racists, NA has letterboxed leaflets in Sydney that include the home address of an organiser of the recent national secondary student walkout against racism.

One Nation's footsy with Australia's main neonazi street thugs makes a mockery of Hanson's claim that her party is not racist. NA and its offshoots are virulently and crudely anti-Asian and anti-Semitic. They lauded the vicious South African apartheid regime and continue to propose that Aborigines be subject to a policy of "separate development".

The links page on NA's web site is a who's who of international neonazis, far rightists and assorted Ku Klux Klans. The only Australian "nationalist sites of interest" - other than NA and its allied Australian Republican Movement - are none other than One Nation and former Labor MP Graeme Campbell's Australia First.

"Australian Nationalists seek advantages from the political disorder brought on by the emergence of the One Nation party", NA's June "National News on Line" proclaims with glee. "Particularly, we take comfort from the confusion amongst establishment politicians, the angst of the Left and the hardening of attitudes across Australia on serious questions of the national futures".

James told the August 7 Australian that One Nation would have to look at National Action's "objectives" before allowing its members to join his party.

Apparently, the Victorian branch of One Nation was not too disturbed about white supremacists joining its ranks. In June, it was revealed that Andrew Guild, a former Victorian chairperson of NA, has been preselected as One Nation's candidate in the federal seat of Deakin. Guild denied he was a racist, but added that his views were the same as Hanson's.

Brendan Gidley, a founder of the Australian Republican Movement, also joined the Ringwood One Nation branch with Guild. Both resigned when their affiliations became public.

That Hanson sees little wrong associated with neonazis was shown during the 1996 federal election. In the seat of Oxley, which she subsequently won, Hanson directed preferences to Victor Robb, a former Queensland state secretary of the defunct National Front - a party that shared a common ancestor with National Action.

The publication by NA of Resistance activist Marina Carman's (fortunately incorrect) address is a not-too-thinly veiled threat of violence. In January 1996, the house of two Melbourne activists was daubed with swastikas, and their car windows smashed, soon after the activists' address and car

registration number appeared in a NA newsletter. NA has a long history of violence against migrants, Australians of non European ancestry and anti racist activists.

NA's origins can be traced to the Australian Party, formed in 1955. The Australian Party evolved into the pro-nazi Australian Nationalist party, which then mutated further to become the Australian National Socialist Party in 1963. Its first act was the desecration of a Sydney synagogue.

Members of the Australian National Socialist Party dressed in full nazi regalia and made a habit of beating up anti-war and anti-apartheid demonstrators. They openly admired Adolf Hitler, stockpiled arms and ammunition and kept a "death list" of people they would kill if they took power. It is suspected that the Australian National Socialist Party was behind the April 20, 1972 (the anniversary of Hitler's birth), bombing of the Brisbane office of the Communist Party of Australia.

The Australian National Socialist Party's most notorious member was a tall, musclebound and shaven-headed stormtrooper by the name of Ross "the Skull" May. The Skull intimidated protestors in Sydney until the late '70s. He was jailed for six months for bashing a journalist in 1972, and served other stints in jail for similar offences over the years.

May and another Nazi Party leader, Robert Cameron, eventually formed the National Front in the '80s, an imitation of the British party of the same name (May's activities these days are limited to being a fanatical follower of the St. George Dragons rugby league team, to the acute embarrassment of dedicated supporters).

Another young Australian National Socialist Party member, Jim Saleam, was arrested in 1974 and found guilty of firebombing a left wing Brisbane bookshop. After the collapse of the Nazi Party in the mid '70s, Saleam moved to Sydney and enrolled at Sydney University. He soon fell out with May and Cameron.

In 1977, Saleam formed a group which proclaimed its commitment to the "permanent and unapologetic reintroduction of the White Australia Policy". In 1978, the group announced: "The Australian National Alliance has the greatest pleasure in announcing to the enemies of Australian nationalism



that their days are numbered". Other former members of the Australian Party and the Australian National Socialist Party joined.

National Action was officially launched on Anzac Day, 1982, the culmination of a number of fusions with tiny far right and racist sects.

Under Saleam's tutelage, NA replaced open identification with Hitlerite Nazism with an emphasis on home grown anti-Asian racism and nationalism of early Australian labour movements figures like William Lane and Jack Lang, as well as poet Henry Lawson.

NA hailed as "revolutionary" incidents such as the atrocities committed against Chinese diggers by white miners during the gold rushes of the 19th century. It adopted the flag of the 1854 Eureka Stockade rebels as its symbol.

In the 1983 campus year, NA launched a campaign against the presence of overseas students. Asian students and anti-racists were threatened by NA thugs late at night. NA violence increased when it launched a goon squad called the "Sons of Kokoda".

In 1983-84, NA thugs beat and hospitalised an anti-racist UNSW student leader, attacked the offices of Greenpeace and the Movement Against Uranium Mining, Community Aid Abroad, the Socialist Workers Party, Bob Gould's Pitt St. bookshop, and the Maoist East Wind bookshop, threw a brick through the window of the home of anti-apartheid activist Meredith Burgmann, and made threatening phone calls to members of the Southern African Support Committee after a mailing list was stolen. A firebomb was thrown through the bedroom window of an anti-apartheid movement leader John Brink. Another escalation in racist violence occurred in 1987-1989: in Adelaide, the People's Bookshop was firebombed and the New Era Bookshop and the Resistance Centre were attacked. In Sydney, 10 NA thugs wearing balaclavas disrupted and intimidated a Sydney meeting of the Gay and Lesbian Immigration Task Force.

The most serious act of violence occurred in January 1989, when the home of the Australian representative of the African National Congress, Eddie Funde, was shot at. Two NA members were arrested. They testified that Saleam had supplied them with the shotgun. Saleam has also thoughtfully given them each some money to buy a drink to calm their jitters before the attack. Saleam was sentenced in May 1991 to three and half years' jail.

SMASH FASCISM



On April 20, 1991, NA member Perry Whitehouse murdered another NA member, Wayne "Bovver" Smith, at the organisation's inner Sydney headquarters after an argument.

With the departure Saleam and the collapse of its Sydney base, control of NA fell into the lap of Adelaide NA fuhrer, Michael Brander.

Little was heard from the group until 1994, when NA relaunched itself in public rallies in Melbourne and Adelaide. The rallies attracted about 30 in Melbourne on March 5, 1994 and 50 in Adelaide on April 9 (including many who attended both). The majority were skinheads wearing T-shirts emblazoned with swastikas. In Adelaide, loud, scratchy martial music was played, and Brander's mother was on hand to proudly give her son a stiff-armed fascist salute.

A counter-demonstration of 600 anti-racists greeted the Melbourne rally, and more than 1000 rallied in Adelaide. On March 12, 500 anti-racist demonstrators chased Brander and 30 neonazis from the inner Melbourne suburb of Brunswick when they attempted another rally. A week later, a small band of skinheads trashed the offices of the LaTrobe University Students Representative Council in retaliation.

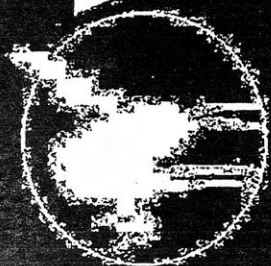
Brander's attempts to extend NA's base from Adelaide to Melbourne have been frustrated by violent faction fights with rival neonazi grouplets in Melbourne, and most decisively, by mass anti-racist mobilisations.

On March 18, 1995, more than 300 anti-racists mobilised against 30 or so neonazis on the steps of the Victorian Parliament House. Police allowed the NA thugs to break through their lines and attack the anti-racists. Five demonstrators were assaulted and one was taken to hospital. In September, Brander was convicted of assault.

After a 14 month campaign of demonstrations by local residents and anti-racists, in April, 1998 NA was forced to close its bookshop in the working class suburb of Fawkner. It scuttled back to Adelaide without even paying the rent.

Brander's offer of NA's services to One Nation seems to an attempt to revive the neonazi sect's flagging fortunes.

** This article was written by Norm Dixon, a left activist. It does not include the NA's attacks against Barricade bookshop, Friends of the Earth bookshop and smashing of 3CR's window, but it offers much information about neonazis in Australia.*



WILDCAT COLLECTIVE

wildcat@start.com.au

<http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/5728>

An Anarchist Society is a voluntary non-hierarchical society based on the creation of social and political structures which allow all people equal decision making power and equal access to society's wealth.

The Wildcat Collective is a group which has recently formed in Adelaide who believe that society needs to be radically changed for the better. The environment is in a serious crisis, the earth is experiencing a phase of extinction similar to that which wiped out the dinosaurs. Politicians and national and multinational companies are busy helping each other increase their wealth while workers and the environment lose out. Politicians and the media serving their own interests have tried to divide us, stopping us from working together against the real enemy, those who have money and power. We must defend diversity and oppose racism, sexism, homophobia, and bigotry.

Politicians allow mining companies to mine uranium on Aboriginal land because they believe that profit is more important than the environment and human rights. Democracy has turned into a joke, every three years we get to choose between Tweedledumb and Tweedledumber while the usual nightmare of poverty and pollution grinds on.

Many people work more hours than they get paid for, while others can't get paid work at all. Those who do work are promised shorter hours in return for implementing new technology. Such promises never seem to eventuate and in fact, increased productivity often means job losses.

Some people say that capitalism is an efficient way to organise production. Even if you accept that efficiency of production is the reason for our existence, we should still ask who capitalism is really efficient for? Billions are spent on military hardware, advertising, and electric toothbrushes while people starve.

It is important for us not to merely replace one government with another. This was tried in Russia and was an authoritarian failure. Governments have a nasty habit of killing their own citizens, particularly when those citizens try to gain freedom and equality. The main outrages of history - war and tyranny - have been committed by governments, while nearly every advancement of thought, nearly every betterment of the human condition, has come about through voluntary cooperation and individual initiative.

We must learn to organise without hierarchy, the state, or capitalism. We must defend what we still have and work towards a more equitable distribution of society's wealth through organised community protests, direct action, community education, and creating non-hierarchical forms of organisation.

If you also want to change society in a positive way, or want to find out more, then talk to us or come to our next meeting. See our website for details of the next meeting.

E-mail: wildcat@start.com.au
PO Box 8084, Hindley St, SA 5000



Children stolen from mothers at birth

Truth Never Changes

To recover rationality after being treated irrationally is the aim of many natural mothers – whose babies were stolen at birth.

Adoption Act was meant to serve the needs of a child deprived of his own family. It was not meant to actually deprive a child of his family. We are talking about the Social Cleansing Campaign to rid society of the single mother and her illegitimate offspring.

There is one question and one question only that needs to be answered by all authorities.

WHY WAS A NATURAL MOTHER AND HER BABY SEPARATED AT BIRTH?

If a stranger crept into your home and stole your baby it would be called kidnap – so what do the authorities call this crime?

Mothers cried out for their babies and was defenceless and defendless to respond to her baby's cries. Her baby was also defendless and defenceless to respond to her mother – two people torn apart – because POWERFUL PEOPLE said so.

The first and most essential part of the healing process for survivors of these illegal acts, is to tell the truth about their past. The most important need is to be believed by all Church and Government authorities. We are challenging these bodies to face the **truth** and ask for your help to force these authorities – to do just that.

Natural mothers were lied to – in many cases, telling them that their babies were dead or swapping the live babies of single mothers with the dead babies of married women.

This brutality happened to tens of thousands of women throughout the Post World War II period and cannot be swept under the carpet any longer. Explanations as "Society in those days were judgemental of single mothers and was a result of the social views of the time" are no longer good enough.

We are talking about illegal practices and major human rights abuses. An independent panel (with no Government or Church input) has to be established to inquire into these atrocities against mankind. The decision makers and services providers at all levels of Government and Churches must be made accountable. Quality of decisions and fairness is called for.



**PLEASE TAKE UP THE
CHALLENGE TO FORCE
GOVERNMENT AND CHURCH
AUTHORITIES TO DELIVER AN ANSWER**

Unreal estate

Squatters Handbook - *online*



[Introduction](#) | [Why squat?](#) | [Who owns empties?](#)

[How do I do it?](#) | [Services](#) | [Eviction! and legalities](#) | [Contacts](#)

Intro

This book has been put together by a group of people concerned with the everyday survival and basic needs of people in our community.

The group is called 'Self Help Housing'.

Through this booklet we hope to provide much needed realistic information to people that need it.

- We advocate occupant controlled housing
- We believe that everyone has a right to a home
- We see the present system of housing as creating homelessness and high rents because it is based on profit and property NOT people
- All land in Australia is stolen land from the Aboriginal people
- We believe that governments in all their forms hinder a real solution to the problem of housing the worlds people
- We aim to create an atmosphere where people have equal decision making powers. We make decisions by consensus

Why squat?

Housing is a basic right for everybody. Houses should not be empty while there are people without homes to live in. People are living without electricity, hot water and food in order to pay huge rents that 'the market' demands, much to the delight of unscrupulous property owners and estate agents. Tenancy with a signed lease doesn't actually provide much more security than squatting, though gives a legal recognition to the occupant. Tenancy laws generally though are there to protect the property owners, NOT the tenants necessarily.

Landowners arbitrarily raise rents and many a tenant knows the possibility of maintenance and repairs from most land owners and estate agents. Real Estate agents discriminate against single parents, young, old, low income earners and anyone who isn't pretty well capable of actually buying a house. Chances of finding acceptable and affordable housing on the private market is nearly impossible, the waiting list on public housing lists are years long and government support for public housing is virtually nothing.

People already occupy run down dilapidated houses due to having nowhere else to go..

Squatters have very little legal recognition and the only way squatters can generally keep their houses is to help each other and be organised and seek support. Such support is essential to organise repairs and to resist harassment and evictions by landowners immediately.

It is important not to be intimidated or bluffed into leaving your home before you have fought to stay

there.

Who owns empties?

Government departments own empty houses, due to mis-management and bureaucratic delays many houses can remain empty for many years.

Private developers keep houses empty so that they can make a fast buck, or maintain the 'market rent' by limiting the available housing. Greedy individuals own houses that are left empty because they don't need them to live in.

Government houses

Properties owned by public authorities (such as the RTA, DOH, Education Dept, SRA etc - yes many of these different public bodies own quite a lot of property in various locations and may include livable houses that are left unoccupied for years) will generally require some level of negotiation, unless in the rare case they have been completely forgotten about. The time to negotiate may vary, but when you are discovered and requested to leave then an approach to a level of the administration responsible for properties can not do any harm, question the representative about who is responsible for making decisions about the property and approach then directly if necessary, by phone or in person with a friend or two.

Privately owned houses

Privately owned houses may be left empty for a number of reasons. A deceased estate may have no living relatives or interested parties, or they may be willing to allow you to 'look after' the house.

Deceased estates where there are no living relatives are administered by the Public Trustees office, and it may take many years for the fate of the property to be settled.

Generally private owners will ask you personally to leave or call the police and get them to remove you if necessary. Quite often the case is that no charges will be laid if there is resistance or antagonism. Quite often the first contact with anyone will be the neighbours, who will eventually have to contend with anyway, it's worthwhile to present yourself as honestly and openly as possible.

How do I do it?

Finding empty houses is generally pretty easy, an unkempt look, mail oozing out of the mailbox, overgrown garden, power off (check the electricity meter to see if the powers on), broken windows and doors etc. You should always knock on the door before entering or when checking out a house. Sometimes old people are living in their home without electricity in rundown states.

Take a closer look inside and out, is there thick dust inside? no obvious signs of occupation? check how many rooms the house has, are any floorboards missing? check the overall structure of the place, are the gas and electricity meters still there? You need to know what to bring back to secure the house and fix it up if necessary.

It is important to find out who owns the property so you are aware of the owners as the neighbours are and so you'll know who you can speak to, to negotiate if necessary. Only the owner or the agent of the owner (which can, but isn't necessarily the police) can legally evict you or ask you to leave, not the neighbours or the police without direction from the owner. The police may however take it upon themselves to act against people they know to be occupying property without the owners permission, this may be illegal, but by then you're generally out of the house and looking for somewhere else.

Find out as much as you can about the house. The land titles office in Macquarie St, is another way to find out who owns property. The system there may seem mind-boggling but it provides information on recent transactions and proposed development plans. The staff there are quite helpful and you can't

be denied access to the information, though maybe have to pay for more detailed information.

Getting in is generally quite easy, often broken windows or doors previously forced by other visitors provide access. Vandalism is often an indication of vacant houses, the local kids maybe use the place, this makes it not so hard to just walk right in (besides being a great argument for people living in houses rather than leaving them empty).

During the day on a weekday is actually the best time to check out houses, less conspicuous and you can see more. It's best to just go for a look first without any tools or anything that might justify a break and enter. As long as you don't damage any part of the property it's ok, if you do then leave and return at a later time if ok. It's not always good to have tools such as crow bars lying around as the police may try to charge someone for breaking and entering.

It can sometimes take quite sometime for owners to realise that anyone is occupying the house, anything from a few hours to a day to a few weeks even. This time should be used for getting the house together, fixing things up, checking the wiring and water etc. It's a good idea to get services such as electricity and gas on as quickly as possible, so you can cook and maintain a life at your new home. Try to keep the house occupied constantly for the first few days and weeks or until you come to some agreement over remaining there with the owner. Get support from other squatters, friends and others in the local area.

If after a few weeks you're still there and have heard nothing from the owners you can start to get a bit more comfortable, it is harder to evict well established households than people who appear to be just using the place to crash in. First thing to do is change the locks and secure the house. Most barrel locks are easily replaced with a few tools (screwdriver, hacksaw, pliers etc) and are available from hardware shops. Deadlocks may have to be sawn off and replaced totally, these cost more but are more secure. Doors or windows that can't be immediately repaired can have wood or board nailed on them to provide temporary security.

Services

Water, electricity and other essential services can not be denied to you, though if it is known that you are squatting services may be denied to you, this is against the law, you may however be required to pay a security deposit.

Water and toilets

If the water is off at the taps find the main and turn it back on, after checking the pipes. If water has been turned off from not paying water rates then you can approach the water authority to pay of some off to get the water back on. If the plumbing isn't in tact, hoses and clamps can be used for at least temporary plumbing.

If the toilet is broken a new one can be cemented in and a bucket used if a cistern is unavailable. If the sewerage is blocked it may need to be cleared, with an electric eel or something similar, take care with old piping.

electricity and gas

If the wiring is ok, you have a legal right to have the electricity connected, but may have to pay a security deposit. You may be required to show proof that you are living at the house with a lease, just say you're living there and that you have a right to services. It isn't actually a necessarily good idea to tell them you're squatting. **If the wiring is damaged or broken get someone who knows what they're doing to fix it.** The same applies to gas services.

Eviction! and legalities

Essentially you have no rights as a squatter but if you are threatened with eviction there are things you do to postpone eviction or even negotiate a settlement that means you can stay. Only the owner or the representative of the owner has the legal right to evict you, so don't be intimidated by the cops or neighbours without checking. It's important to try and talk to the evictors, evictions have been stopped at the last moment.

Quite often you will be told lies as to the history and future plans for the houses, demolition, renovation etc, or at least the truth is bent in an effort to get you to leave.

If you are asked by the owner, or an agent of the owner (who may be the police) to leave and you don't then you can be arrested for trespass under the Enclosed Lands Act.

Things you can do to resist eviction include

- Contact your local squatters group (or start your own) for support.
- Get friends and other squatters to come around when eviction is due, people showing support can stall eviction.
- Leaflet or doorknock the surrounding houses, try to get some local community support.
- For public authorities visiting, and perhaps protesting outside of, the offices of the organisation can sometimes cause them to back down from evictions.
- Barricade yourself in. *This can however be dangerous to your health, as the cops are generally more 'pissed-off' when they get in and arrest is much more likely, the police may take many days to evict a heavily barricaded squat.*
- Talk to the media about the situation, though be careful as the media may not portray you and the issue in a favourable light. Utilise alternative media, local papers noticeboards etc.

If you resist or are violent or abusive you will most likely face more severe charges (and larger fines) if the police have to remove you. It is obviously best to talk with the police and any other representatives of the owner outside the house, have someone outside to talk with the police if necessary. If you are arrested you will be taken to the police station, your name and fingerprints will be taken and you will probably be released quite quickly.

Contacts

Redfern Legal centre
73 Pitt St
Redfern Sydney
Ph: 96987277



DON'T ADAPT YOUR MIND THE MISTAKE IS IN REALITY!

, we consider the historical journey through the last thousand years of humanity, we can see that despite all the giant changes and the massive evolutions on a technological, scientific, political and social level, human life continues to be ruled by the same fundamental double contradiction of slaves-bosses and the ruled-rulers.

The maintenance of this system sees prohibitions, control, violence and ugliness of life.

So, the only thing which remains to someone looking for the meaning of life through the total refusal of the existing world is to commit suicide unable to live in the total foolishness or to become a part of it.

Through historical experience we have seen that all those who set limits in one or more manifestations of this contradictory world, have all been convicted to be defeated, even though there are some truths that seem to be won.

All the claims, all the demands (such as the 8 hour day, security, wage increases, better working conditions etc), were not enough to perpetuate, to urge, to enforce the hallucination and conscience which allow the embellishment and the lifting of the masks, which have been left by the ugliness of society on the rights of the slaves-workers. Not only eight but all our hours belong to the bosses through our labour, with them consuming and controlling at the expense of our desires and real needs.

The tolerance which comes by billions of people who with their material and intellectual poverty and misery support the present status quo (the provocative luxury of the few and the glitter emptiness of the spectacle) may be considered only under the prisma of submission, suspension and control from the authority of the spectrum of their desires. So, we are unable to imagine - but only after our death - and meditate for a different world and a life completely changed.

It must be understood that a world of equality and freedom is not a fickle utopia but a possibility which is looking for realisation; that the accumulated social wealth in conjunction with the abolition of property, that the contribution by all according to their capabilities in production (while they all will be paid in accordance to their real needs) and the disappearance of the unreasonable capitalist wastefulness and consumerism. This, so humanity can be freed forever from the weight and compulsion of waged labour. Without rulers and privileges, we can manage our problems in common. We must be cleansed from the restrictions of the past, from the duties and concessions in the metaphysical space and from the oppression and suppression of instincts and passions.

This, so the new form of humanity can realise their libertarian celebrations without obstacles, where the sudden, casual, spontaneous, love, dance, music, poetry and all arts will compose... a chaotic harmony, where words such as enjoyment and joy will find their real meaning at last.

Social Centre of Heraklion

PO Box 1244, 71001 Heraklion Crete, Greece

CLASS WAR

JUST DO IT.



DAYS OF JUNE 98 **DAYS OF CLASS STRUGGLE IN GREECE**

What

follows does not wish to present

itself as having the character of a full scale

analysis of the enlightened by the molotov cocktails and

marked by class hatred days of the examination of ASEP

(High Council for Personnel Selection) for the hiring of teachers.

Neither can it be enriched with a chronicle of all the events and

conflicts in the 20 cities of Greece in which thousands of people took part

during the same days. Such an attempt requires a calmness that the

emotionally charged moments do not yet have, as well as a collective

effort which is not yet possible. What follows is a first estimation of the

moments we experienced around the 18th high school of Patisia in

Athens which was used as an examination centre. We talk neither

about victory nor about defeat. From our proletarian point of

view we would like to shed light to those sides of theory

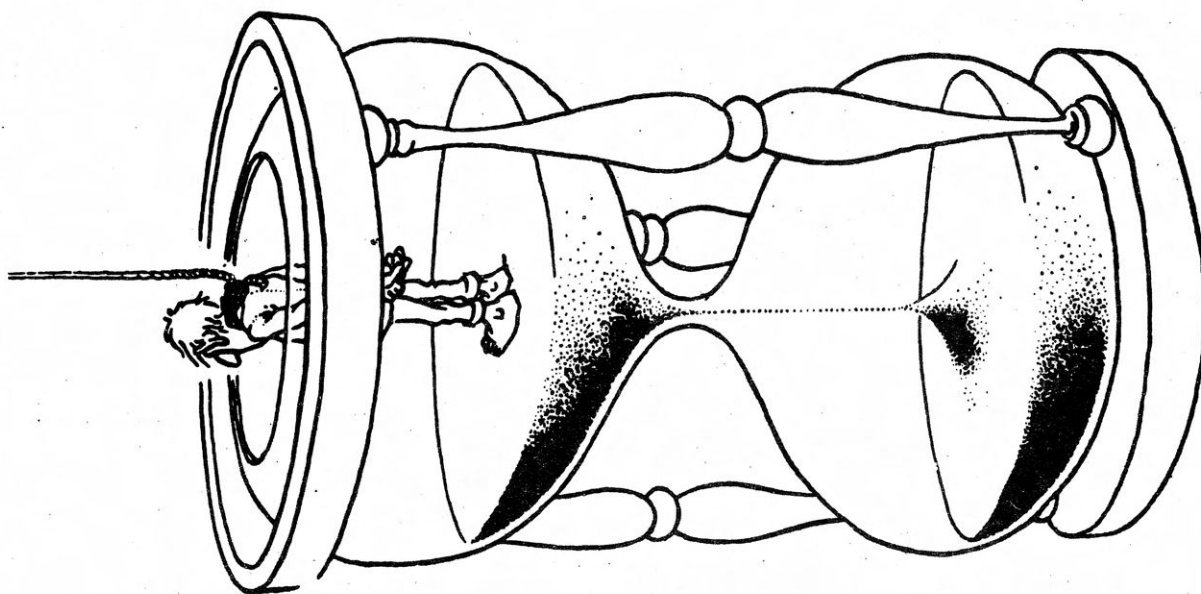
and practice which led to this explosion of

struggle, thus contributing to its

continuation.

What has become obvious to everyone, from the most conservative unappointed teacher to the most self-important «leader», to the surprise of the former and the fear of the latter, is that whatever happened from the 11th of June onwards can only be described as class war. The escalation of this struggle was rapid and thus it could only take the characteristics of a military confrontation.

The struggle against the educational law 2525 had begun before it passed in parliament in August, with the first actions of the unappointed teachers, the handing out of leaflets at schools at the beginning of the school year, and, already since fall, it had no support from OLME/DOE (the teachers' unions). Since the only provisions of the law which were implemented were the ones that abolished the Education List and introduced the first PSE (Programmes of Optional Studies) in the universities, the struggle



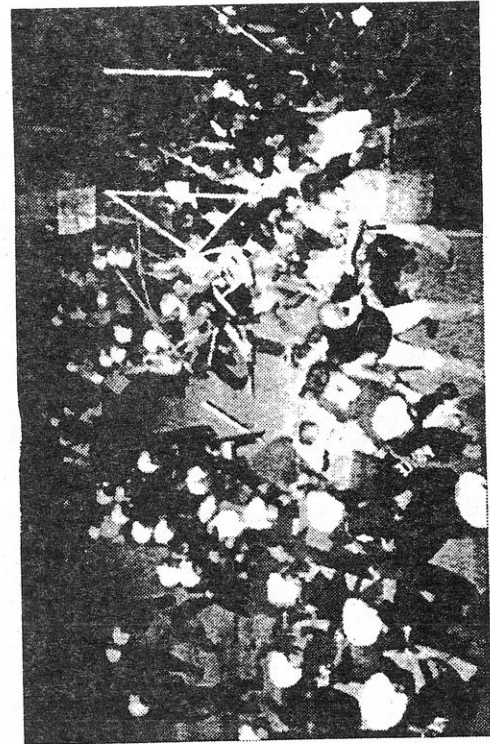
against the law did not involve others apart from the unappointed, the substitute teachers and the university students.¹ The new educational system, a new Panopticon, where all shall be subject to constant evaluation and surveillance is still in its infancy. So, the magnitude of the attempted reform could not be objectively understood by everyone - and more specifically the high school students who were absent from these struggles. The mobilization of all the police forces of Greece for the realisation of only one part of this reform proves the huge importance that the government attaches to it.

The active participation of the primary school teachers through their general assemblies in early May reinforced the united front of the unappointed teachers and the university students in the last minute. Two weeks before the confrontation, the organisational form of the teachers' struggle was «discovered». We are talking about the «open committees of struggle» which were created by a) left wing trade-unionists who aimed at the political capitalisation of the struggle for the benefit of their trade-unionist factions and b) a minority of rank-and-file union members. The aim of the first was to create a bolshevik-type «central coordinating committee», that is to say a coordinating committee of the left wing factions of the trade unions, a shadow OLME/DOE which would attempt to direct the struggle, covered up by the spectacle of the direct democratic decisions. The aim of the second was to «take control of the struggle» by realising the decisions of their general assemblies without really understanding that this would only come true through a conflict with the trade-union leadership and its left-wing factions.

The «central coordinating committee» which had been formed

¹ According to the Education List, which was a register of teachers based on seniority, there are 130,000 unappointed teachers and only 18,000 of them work as substitute teachers. The latter opposed the law 2525 (and in particular the abolition of the Education List and getting appointed at schools through «succeeding» in the newly introduced exams) in the name of the «right of seniority». The unappointed teachers and the students, on the other hand, opposed the law because, in their own words, «meritocracy is the make-up of unemployment». PSE are university courses tied in with the entrepreneurialization of higher education.

before the open general assembly at the Polytechnic School on the 5th of June, pretended in front of 1000 people, who were anxious about finding a method to organise their fight, that it was formed there. It was the final act of a ridiculous process of manipulation. And that is how the short history of the committees of struggle ended up, after the left wing trade-unionists had managed to demobilise them - with the important exception of some committees of struggle which organised the meeting of teachers and students at the Ionidios school of Piraeus and came out with one of the few resolutions



with a clear position in favour of the occupation of the centres in which the examination was to take place. And this is how the short history of the committees of struggle ended up because the rank-and-file workers which constituted them could not escape the rationale of delegating powers to the «professional» activists.

The open meeting was not attended only by primary school teachers but also by unappointed and secondary school teachers, university students, unemployed and some workers. The situation was explosive. Nobody was satisfied with what was «decided» at the Polytechnic School (only 80 to 100 people stuck their hands in the air to vote for the proposals). Some left wing trade-unionists talked about occupations on Thursday morning (on the 11th of June), without explaining how exactly they were going to be practically realised. They called for a demonstration organised by OLME/DOE on Wednesday evening aiming merely at a display of power, but without being able to convince anyone of its use value.

All this led a small group of committees and persons to act autonomously from the «coordinating committee» attempting to

elements who entered the ranks of the teachers», which met the booing of the gathered people. We arranged a meeting for 5 o'clock in the afternoon at the square of Agios Elefterios and while the people were scattered around, the MAT charged again and arrested 3 more protesters while collecting the incriminating evidence: helmets and red and black flags! The same day, two young protesters who were travelling in a public bus, having probably been identified and marked out by the police earlier, were noticed by a passing police van when they shouted something against them. The cops stopped the vehicle and forced the driver with their guns to open the door so that they could arrest the two young men.

On Friday the 12th, the first day of the national examination, the meeting time was set quite early in the morning, at about 6 o'clock. The blockade of the school worked quite well until 9 o'clock, and only about 30 candidates managed to get to the school. The first confrontations were followed by a well organised blockade, where hundreds of people decisively stopped any supervisor or candidate from entering. The protesters hooted and jeered at the candidates and, in some cases, there was actual physical fighting. It needs to be pointed out that many of us were not aggressive during the submission of application forms by the candidates at the prefectures because we considered that, since we would meet the vast majority of the unappointed teachers *there* and not in the half-empty halls of the general assemblies, we had a good opportunity to make approaches to them and not fight with them. The great majority of the candidates are unemployed or temporary workers and can easily become victims to the capitalist ideology of meritocracy. However, on Friday, they knew about the riots, the beatings by the police and the arrests of the previous day all over Greece but none the less loads of them started coming, some impudently, and most of them slyly demanding their entrance. That was when we lost our patience. Their action revealed the enormity of the social cretinism and the petty bourgeois mentality facing us. Many of them were escorted by their parents, and pretended either to be indifferent or even waited for the MAT to break up the blockade with batons and tear gas so that they could go through peacefully. Even pregnant candidates went through hell to take part in the examination «for the benefit of their children». This «vanguard of meritocracy» -as the assistant Minister of Education called them- the vanguard of selfishness,

occupy a centre on Wednesday, at a time which would surprise the police forces. The plan failed however, and responsibility lies on the majority of the members of a student initiative that decided at the last minute that «the terms of a massive movement» were not satisfied. On Wednesday night there was the demonstration-stroll to the parliament, away from the examination centres. After the demonstration a group of substitute teachers decided to move towards the occupation of the centre situated in a north, wealthy suburb called Pefki. After a few hours the number of people willing to undertake this occupation was a bit larger. The occupation took place at two o'clock in the night. 80 people were at Pefki, the «central coordinating committee» -which had been dragged behind the events- among them, the TV channels from quite early, and one riot police van. The occupation was evacuated at 6.30 in the morning and there were two arrests.

On Thursday morning outside the 18th high school of Patisia the two opposing camps lined up for the battle: on the one hand there was the riot police (MAT) which had already occupied the school and the surrounding place and on the other the students, the unappointed and the permanent teachers and various other workers. The attack on the MAT was so violent and intense that they were taken by surprise. The roughly-made barricades and the pointed stones, the iron rods and the siphons (!) which were thrown at them did not only scare the riot police in the first place, but also the internal forces of suppression of the movement that, it's true, wanted a conflict -something unavoidable due to the intentions of the people- but one confined to the well-known framework of a «controlled» one *a la* KKE («Communist» Party of Greece). The rough equipment of those who fought was not sufficient to halt the charge of the MAT who, using lots of chemicals, managed to make the first 3 arrests. The people were able to regroup but their intentions varied. Some wanted the continuation of the conflict, others wanted to calm down the situation. The result was a demonstration of 2,500 people heading for the police station of the area; however the arrested people had been taken to the central police headquarters. A while later the demonstrators returned to Patision street and had an open general assembly in which the general mood was to remain there and try to block the school, and of course we heard the usual accusations against the «outside

deserved to be held up to public ridicule *a la* EAS² and the fact that something like that did not happen is probably because either the protesters were too tactful or hesitant or simply not imaginative enough. We did however hear teachers making an appointment with those «vanguardists» for September.

After the barricades had been erected on Friday we had certain internal conflicts which were concentrated around the issue of our more or less aggressive attitude towards the MAT. Some unappointed teachers who were conservative and green at clashes with the cops, thought that they were there «just to surround the centre peacefully» and thus they interpreted any stone throwing, barricade or burning of a police car as a sign of «thuggery» or «meaningless provocation». But if inexperience can be forgiven, there is absolutely no excuse for the left wing «leaders» who drew out from the depths of history of the KKE the accusation of «provocateurs», an accusation which in many phases of the class war has been used as a means of manipulation and repression of riots.

The big difference however, in comparison to other situations was that in those particular days, in those particular places, all weapons used had **one** use value: the continuation of the blockade of the centres through our self-protection. The MAT had been ordered to disperse us by any means and at any cost, thus whatever was used by our side was not only useful but also necessary. Moreover, should we accept that one of the reasons why some people reacted against the riot was a pacifist attitude, the contradictory and dangerous nature of this attitude was soon revealed: you do not keep an appointment in a blockade where

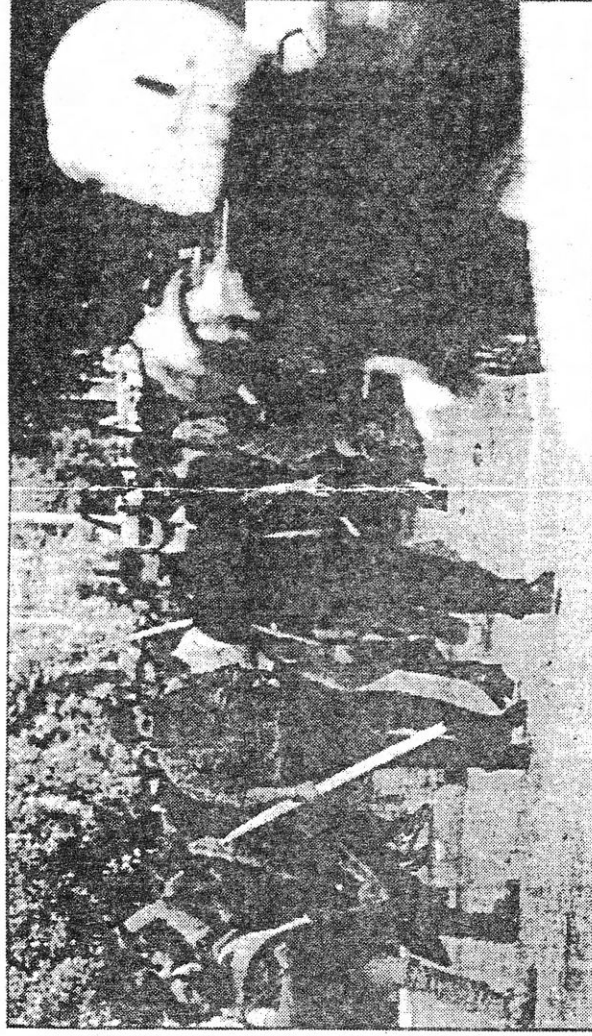
the obvious aim is to clash with the police with empty hands and pacifist intentions since you know that the enemy will destroy you; you might as well set yourself on fire as an act of protest!

The same day there were two more arrests by the secret police and the MAT and although the ministry gave a new extension for the commencement of the exam at 10 o'clock, and according to all signs the MAT would attempt to disperse us, the «leaders» using their loud speakers stirred waves of enthusiasm and «victory» urging the people to retreat and demonstrate in the streets towards the law courts, where the 6 arrested were going to go on a trial. The MAT did strike and most people gathered in Patisson st., where one part of the demonstration continued the riot, and the other part was wondering why it was leaving. In the end the two blocks banded together to march towards the law courts.

After all this, the «central coordinating committee» decided to defuse the situation by calling for a blockade of the exam centre in Pefki on Saturday morning. Regardless of the unfavourable circumstances, the people did actually try to blockade the school. But a large number of candidates managed to get inside. The state prosecutor's appearance for the

first time outside a school was enough reason for the trade-unionists to attempt to break up the gathered people from 9.30 in the morning. Around 11 o'clock the last protesters left the school.

On Sunday the rage against the trade-unionists' attempt to defuse the struggle was unstoppable. From very early in the morning people started gathering near the high school of Patisia again. Around 6 o'clock, the MAT charged with tear gas near the train station of Ag. Eleftherios and arrested a construction worker who was subsequently badly beaten up. The mass of people gathered again and separated themselves into three blocks, each in a different barricade: one in Agia Barbara, one in Patisson st. and one in Ag.



² During a wildcat strike in the EAS (state owned bus company) in 1992 the strikers stripped the scabs naked.

Elefterios, underneath the train station. In the last one, where we were, not one TV cameraman was able to approach and thus we did not have the «joy» of having media coverage of what went on. This block was constituted by various left wing people, unappointed teachers, metropolitan youth and anarchists. There were two barricades and the throwing of stones and molotov cocktails held the riot police back for more than 3 hours. Two cops were set ablaze, something that the media concealed. What needs to be stressed is the perfect cooperation of all of us who found ourselves fighting in the same barricades. Even though the fighters who risked a lot by being in the front line and charging at the police, and the crowd of people who stayed in the back did not exchange positions apart from only a few times, the harmony between the people was amazing. The flying pickets did not break up regardless of the tear gas, they covered the ones in the front line with their size and determination and they only opened when those of the front line temporarily retreated. Equally moving was the solidarity of the people who lived in that area. They provided us with food, lemons for the tear gas, water, medicines and moral support, and made us feel that we were not alone (similar workers' solidarity was expressed throughout the days by the railway workers who provided us with stones and iron bars from the railway). Fatigue started winning us over and as the crucial time of 9 o'clock came, everyone was able to feel the danger approaching. Those who were at the top of the bridge throwing stones had a better survey of the battlefield and warned us of the charge of the police from the right side. The attack was coordinated and came from two different places at the same time, from the front and from the side and the front lines did not manage to hold them back. The panic-stricken crowd, suffocated by the tear gas, started retreating. At that point a third unit of MAT came from the back and shut us off, while throwing more tear gas among us. Those who did not have time to leave from the top of the bridge, jumped over the high and rusty railway wire netting and through clouds of smoke towards the nearest avenue. Many entered into some blocks of flats and were protected by the dwellers who refused to open the door when the MAT rang the bell. About 30 people were sheltered by an elderly person who kept them in his house until the danger was over, and 8 unlucky people were arrested in a yard. The MAT chased us all the way to the avenue,

where some of us gathered up again and returned to the barricades with the hope of retrieving any wounded. Over there, the riot police, which had taken over the bridge by then and proudly looked down on us, received the swears of some middle-aged teachers, something that they surely did not expect from «respectable» workers. Later, in Patision st., since the barricades had been destroyed, there was a march towards the law courts.

On Monday, only a few people gathered at Ag. Elefterios and around the school. The MAT came down with very angry and intimidating intentions talking about arrests, about people who had been videotaped the previous days, while pointing out at some. Later on, when the 9 arrested were brought in the law courts, the MAT were so enraged that they arrested a young student on the spot.

The same night, at a teacher mass meeting, Tsoulas, the president of OLMÉ (the secondary school teachers trade union) was heavily attacked with yogurts, chairs and dustbins thrown at him by unappointed teachers and enraged anti-bureaucrats and he only managed to avoid being lynched due to the involvement of some left wing militants. It is obvious that no organisation and no groupescule could control the rage and revenge of those who actively participated in the street fighting around the examination centres, and who see state power and suppression, bureaucracy and the grave diggers of class struggles in the person of the state official Tsoulas. The same day, the left wing factions of the teachers' trade union, actually a bunch of people from leftist organisations, denounced the attack against Tsoulas by appealing to «principles», a denunciation which can only be understood if seen as a statement of loyalty and as an attempt to politicise fear towards the trade unions bureaucracy. Let's explain ourselves. We did not personally take part in the attempted lynch and we are not in favour of attempts on anybody's life when they are unable to defend themselves. Other more imaginative ways of holding somebody up to public ridicule would have been more effective (we could learn a lot from our Albanian comrades who during their revolt last year stripped Tritan Sehou, the vice-president of the Democratic Party naked and took him for a ride with a leek up in his ass). Anyway what was important is that the very act of the attack, regardless of how exactly it happened, was a continuation of the class struggle which took place

all over Greece around the exam centres. No denunciation can hold back either the rage of the people, or state repression which came down violently and immediately as a response. On Tuesday afternoon, outside the law courts 2 students and an unappointed teacher were brutally beaten up by 9 thugs. While one of them is still fighting for his life in hospital and the other two are injured, who can doubt that regardless of whether the attackers were fascists or policemen in civilians' clothes, these animals were on an official assignment of revenge for the intensity of the class war that was waged in the



last days, as well as the attack against Tsoulias? Any retreat at this point

will not only bury the movement, but will also prove to be very dangerous since it will give the state a free hand to counter-attack both on a political and an everyday level³.

We will attempt to come up with some conclusions, even if our judgement may be coloured by the personal experiences of those days. Undoubtedly, the class confrontation in the form of street fighting was the result of the overcoming of not only the union bureaucracies, but also the left wing «leadership». The spontaneous clashes with the police led up to a metropolitan guerilla warfare, a «civil» war climate which can only be compared with the schools occupation movement in 90-91. Politically, this movement went beyond the mere refusal of the examination and some provisions of the 2525 law. **It was the first big fight against lifelong «productive»**

³ By the time this article was translated the young student had recovered. On Thursday evening, 18 June, some left wing parties organised a demonstration «against state repression» at a central square in Athens. The demo started in violence. 30 anarchists or so charged at the riot police with molotov cocktails. Two TV vans, a police car and some cops were set ablaze. The police car driver fired

education, constant evaluation of efficiency and the misery of unemployment and temp work in Greece. The battlefield - in material terms - was offered as a field of expression of the totality of class hatred and anger. The streets of the riots were the meeting places of temporary and permanent teachers, of intellectual and manual workers, of students and their old teachers, of «elements outside education» and rank-and-file union members. The class was reunited with such violence that rendered any trade unionist appeal to legality or to sectional interests inoperative. Although it began as an educational mobilisation, soon, either with direct calls to the working people or to the «people» in general, or through the spontaneous participation of the young metropolitan proletariat, the struggle and the composition of its subjects acquired more general class characteristics. The explosion of hatred gave the conflict the clarity of a military confrontation against the MAT who represented the power of the state. Young temps came into contact with substitute, unappointed and permanent teachers, whom these young people called until recently «petty bourgeois» or «the mind police». The teachers had a chance to meet the «200 troublemakers», admired their courage, familiarized themselves with masked people and masked up themselves as well. It goes without saying that all this did not take place in an ideal way but through conflicts and confrontations. Many of the teachers, whether left wing or not, who reacted violently against stone throwing and «scountrelish actions which discredit the teachers' struggle» on Friday, helped to make molotov cocktails and covered those who threw them on Sunday. Many were thus the lessons of the barricades and many were those who learned from each other. The wild youth was taught that the «submission» of the workers during the «quiet» periods can very easily turn into proletarian rage. In a collective, proletarian struggle identities and roles can fade away and the unappointed teacher can not easily be distinguished from the «chaotic youngster». During those days it was possible, even temporarily, to show not only the suicidal vanity of ritualised Polytechnic school riots but also the

into the crowd and an unappointed teacher got seriously wounded. Just because this conflict did not arise out of the whole of the demo, the left-wing parties tried to promote anarcho-phobia among the people during the next days.

conservatism and the dead end of the boring demonstrations of the trade unions. The subjects of those riots, both political and social, managed to break their isolation and their preconstructed, narrow roles and unite the different parts of the class, maybe temporarily but definitely unforgettably.

This *community of struggle*, this collective resistance against the MAT, i.e. the defenders of the dominant order, and against the inhuman survival under capitalism went far beyond the issue of the examination and the opposition to the law 2525 as it was prepared by a «conscious» left minority. Hence the cooperation on a military level was finally able to be satisfactory since the «party offices» and the secret meetings proved to be useless. The left wing organisations always follow the events -by demonstrating their irrationality: no political programme, no political plan or directive could have limited and controlled the class struggle, and no class struggle of such intensity and range could have followed the decisions of the «central committee» of any groupercule.

What remains to be communicated is the class *logos*. All those who joined forces behind the barricades for apparently different reasons must publicize the underlying reason for their struggle, to show the truth that their actions seek.



Athens, 18-6-98

WELL-KNOWN PROLETARIANS



WHAT HAPPENS WHEN WE STAND UP?

THE BROADMEADOWS FORD RIOT

In June 1972 workers at the Broadmeadows Ford Factory exploded into riot smashing up their workplace, facing off police and forcing union bosses into endorsing a strike they had initiated and continued without them.

Earlier that year after a disappointing rise in the award wage four unions in the automotive industry including the Vehicle Builders Employees Federation, Amalgamated Metal Workers Union and Electrical Trade Union, had been forced by rank and file anger to undertake action against the main employers- Ford, Chrysler and GMH. The union leadership decided on a strategy of "guerilla action" that largely amounted to sporadic action aimed against GMH, the largest employer. In support of this campaign they held stop work meetings around the country to rally workers around the struggle.

On May 18 the union bosses hit the first of many snags at the Ford plant in Broadmeadows. Comprised of a 75% migrant work force conditions at the factory had long been horrendous with management using language difficulties to fob off worker complaints. Neither the company nor the union made any attempt to provide contracts or safety equipment in any language other than English, leaving workers confused as to their rights and duties. Generally the Ford employment officer filled in all forms for workers and signed them up to the union and for overtime- all without requesting their permission or providing any explanations. As Lokman Kaleshi, a Turkish strike committee member stated at the time "When the workers come to Australia they cannot speak English, they have no friends to help them and take an interest in their problems... they are obliged to work as cheap overworked labour with foreign companies... the company played the workers as they wanted. Because they can't speak English they work under inhuman conditions... companies are absorbing migrant blood and making millions."

Employees at Broadmeadows and other sites were also the victims of an unofficial speed-up which had seen Ford increasing production demands whilst failing to replace the many workers who had quit. Conditions at the plant were notoriously unsafe with workshops covered in noxious fumes and wet paint and the little safety equipment available being totally antiquated. On top of all this the treatment of workers by management was at best patronising with workers being forced wait hours before they were permitted to raise their hand and ask for permission to go to the toilet. As one worker, Sol Marks, described it in Wendy Lowenstein's 'Weevils at Work', "It was worse than I had imagined... I'd never worked in a place so bad, particularly for migrant workers... there was degradation, humiliation, brutality."

The anger that had been long simmering over these problems first came to a head at a May meeting when the 4000 workers spontaneously voted to start striking there and then. This flew in the face of the union leadership's more conservative strategy. When the leadership attempted to steer workers away from this course of action scuffles and fights broke out with union marshals and shop stewards. With no choice left the union was forced to acquiesce in the hope that things would simmer down.

However things did not calm down and the strike dragged on until early June when the Union bosses negotiated a settlement with Ford. Ford had so far lost an estimated 27 million dollars with orders piling up and other plants laying idle in wait for assembled work. The union deal saw Ford hand over a slight pay rise with no change in conditions. Desperate to end the dispute the union leadership called a meeting at the Broadmeadows Town Hall to vote on the matter. Although the union claimed a slight majority in favour of the settlement things could not have gone worse for them. Their actions had now triggered an explosion of rank and file anger at the obvious attempt to wind down the struggle. Many present felt the vote had been rigged. Further speeches by the leaders were drowned out when they recommended an immediate return to work. Eventually angry workers rushed the stage and Laurie Carmichael (head of the AMWU) and other union bosses had to be rescued and were forced to flee out the back door.

The next day, Monday June 13th developments really took off with an all out riot. From 7-30am 500 to a 1000 workers, mainly from the assembly plant, began to meet at the work gate to hassle out management and those workers who were returning to work. Initially workers chanted in various languages "Don't Work" to those inside, but eventually things stewed over and they turned a fire hose on some staff and on office equipment, including an early computer. They next started to destroy the plant smashing cars, trashing management offices (one photo had a worker smashing up his bosses office with a shovel) and knocking over walls. After one seven foot high brick wall was shouldered over the management panicked and called in the police.

By 10 am over 100 police moved in securing the area where the wall had been knocked down. There was little they could do beyond this since they were hopelessly outnumbered and were repelled on at least one occasion by a shower of bricks and bottles. For the most part workers however chose to leave the police alone as long as they didn't interfere. In the meantime they continued to wreck property attempting to tear down a ten foot wire fence and hijacking a fruit truck before hurling fruit, carrots and tomatoes at the police. Overall the workers were jubilant, as Sol describes, "They were enjoying themselves, demonstrating that they were free- a celebration of defiance!" Sometime later in the day the cops called in six mounted troopers who again were not used. By 4-15 pm that afternoon Ford decided to close the plant for the foreseeable future locking out the few workers who had chosen to remain on the job. With the factory forced to a standstill and \$10 000 damage done the radicals declared victory and dispersed having suffered no arrests.

The next few days saw the fur fly with Ford and the mainstream press unequivocally attacking the union and workers. Full page ads titled "Mob Rule" condemned those who had taken action into their own hands and Ford claimed they had been forced into the lock out since "they (the union leadership) obviously have no control over the violent elements amongst their members". For

the union's part they were forced into rubber-stamping what had occurred already calling an indefinite strike. During a mass meeting near the factory Laurie Carmichael (who had just a few days before tried to bring things to a close) now sleazily claimed "I say to you sincerely that I have made a mistake and you have taught me a lesson". Unlike ACTU officials who condemned rioters at Parliament House in 1996 he supported their actions and stated that the men "exploded due to inhuman conditions... workers in the car assembly area say they go through a daily nightmare." Perhaps a more accurate view of the union officialdom's feeling was to be found from the Broadmeadows head shop steward who condemned the riot as "stupid." This official however admitted that "The workers have a real hate for the company and I have no idea what the answer is." When asked why union officials had not been present during the riot he admitted "We don't want (them) here- they'd get killed." Far from a stupid move the riot had seen the rank and file force the union into taking action and had galvanised Australia wide support for them with the union collecting \$10,000s in strike funds.

The riot not only threw the union leadership into disarray, but also seemed to confuse Ford management. At first sections of Ford appeared to be taking a conciliatory line urging a "cooling off" period, but it wasn't long before they rejected the velvet glove for the iron fist. Rejecting any of the union bosses attempts to negotiate they instead threatened to lay off 3000 workers at their Geelong plant in an attempt to divide and rule. Threats were made to move the plants to Malaysia.

Despite the tough talking by the company it was clear the workers would not back down. An "official free" meeting held the day after the riot unanimously agreed to continue the strike indefinitely. Anger spread throughout the automotive industry with GMH workers across the country wildcatting and forcing management into granting award increases after production was halted and cars began to pile up. Support for the Broadmeadows strikers remained high with the local council providing financial and other assistance, local doctors opening free clinics for striking families and the Greek Orthodox Church chipping in a few hundred dollars for strike funds. Even the union officialdom became more responsive in finally making serious efforts to translate all discussions and meetings so that all could understand what decisions were being made.

Ten weeks after the riot Ford finally capitulated. The company agreed to slow the assembly line, hire more workers, hire women, increase the number of toilet breaks, repair leaking roofs and to increase wages over and above Ford's pre riot offer. Whilst the gains were fairly minimal the sense of pride and victory amongst the workers was clear. They had taken on one of the world's largest multi-nationals and forced them down. As Sol Mark's put it in 1996 "We won enough to make people feel proud." Confidence and militancy continued to remain high for years to come. Another striker summed up the feeling at the time stating "There is an air of optimism and victory. If we had been told we were going to end up with a situation like this we would have been delighted."

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NOAM CHOMSKY, WHOSE SIDE ARE YOU ON?

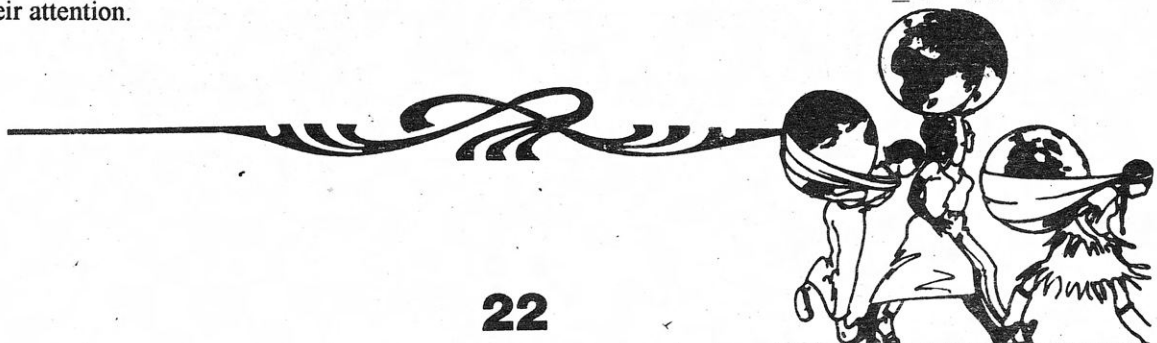
Is Noam Chomsky, the MIT professor and self proclaimed "greatest intellectual in the USA" a dishonest person? Is he a fraud?

Can anyone reconcile his pretence at opposing imperialism, racism, and fascism with his support for zionism (which is the quintessence of all three)? How can Noam Chomsky purport to champion the human rights and the right to self determination of the people of East Timor, yet keep silent about the denial of the same rights to the Arab people of Palestine? How can he pretend to oppose USA imperialism, yet ignore the support the zionist apartheid regime of Israel has been getting from the USA rulers for the continued military occupation of the Arab lands of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine? The list of questions goes on and on... but the most horrific of the lot is the following: how come Noam Chomsky is so popular amongst zionist groups and amongst zionist newspapers in Israel, yet admired by Marxists of all kinds, Anarchists of all kinds, and among other liberal and Left groups in the West?

Noam Chomsky has never made it easy to find the answers to all those perplexing questions. Indeed, there seems to be a deliberate obfuscation attempt by Chomsky to prevent any correct answers reaching the public. Why, then, would he want to obscure his politics and hide his intentions from any prying eyes?

The first identifiable fact to emerge from any investigation is that Chomsky is a zionist *by his own admission*. Yet such a revelation does not emerge easily. In *The Chomsky Reader* he openly states that he comes from a "deeply zionist" family, and that his early intention in life was to become a zionist settler in Palestine as a Kibbutz member. Elsewhere, such as his recent TV programme, "Manufacturing Consent", he expressly states that he considers the zionist Kibbutz as a model for humanity. He knows well, of course, that all zionist Kibbutz settlements exist on stolen Arab land, and that they have been established there to spearhead zionist expansion in Palestine, and that all Kibbutz settlements have been designed as military outposts as well, and that all Kibbutz settlements practice zionist apartheid. He then goes on to state - in passing! - in that TV programme that present day zionism has "*degenerated*". So if zionism has degenerated you are led to conclude that zionism was good earlier! Which is, of course, a big lie, because political zionism has always been very reactionary, from its inception. Political zionism, which was founded 100 years ago by T. Herzl, a megalomaniacal reactionary, intended to expropriate the Arab people of Palestine, set up a zionist state there, which would be the foundation for a zionist empire in the Middle East, with the support of imperialist powers whose interests it offered to protect. Noam Chomsky, of all people, should have known that, because he had investigated the bloody conflicts zionism has created in the Middle east, and he published several books on the subject.

There is plenty of more evidence to support the conclusion that Noam Chomsky is a committed zionist, but you got to dig it out from different locations. Some of it is direct evidence, some indirect, and still more circumstantial. Thus, for example, during Chomsky's visit to Australia in early 1995, he gave a full page interview to the local zionist rag ('The Australian Jewish News') under the headline: CHOMSKY THE OUTSIDER - OR IS IT ALL IN THE FAMILY? It should be remembered that his visit was paid for by supporters of the East Timorese in Australia, and at no time during his visit did he ever mention the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine, and of course, not one word against zionism. Another revealing incident during his visit occurred when he lectured the National Press Club in Canberra. During question time one journalist asked him the following question: if he Chomsky is against authorities, because they cannot be trusted, whom should people trust? The answer of the self-styled Guru of the Left was as follows: no one but yourself! This reply is at the core - the fascist and racist core - of the zionist ideology, namely, that all people are bad, and that consequently might is right! Yet, so mesmerised have been the people on the Left by the Chomsky "phenomenon" that his very reactionary reply escaped their attention.



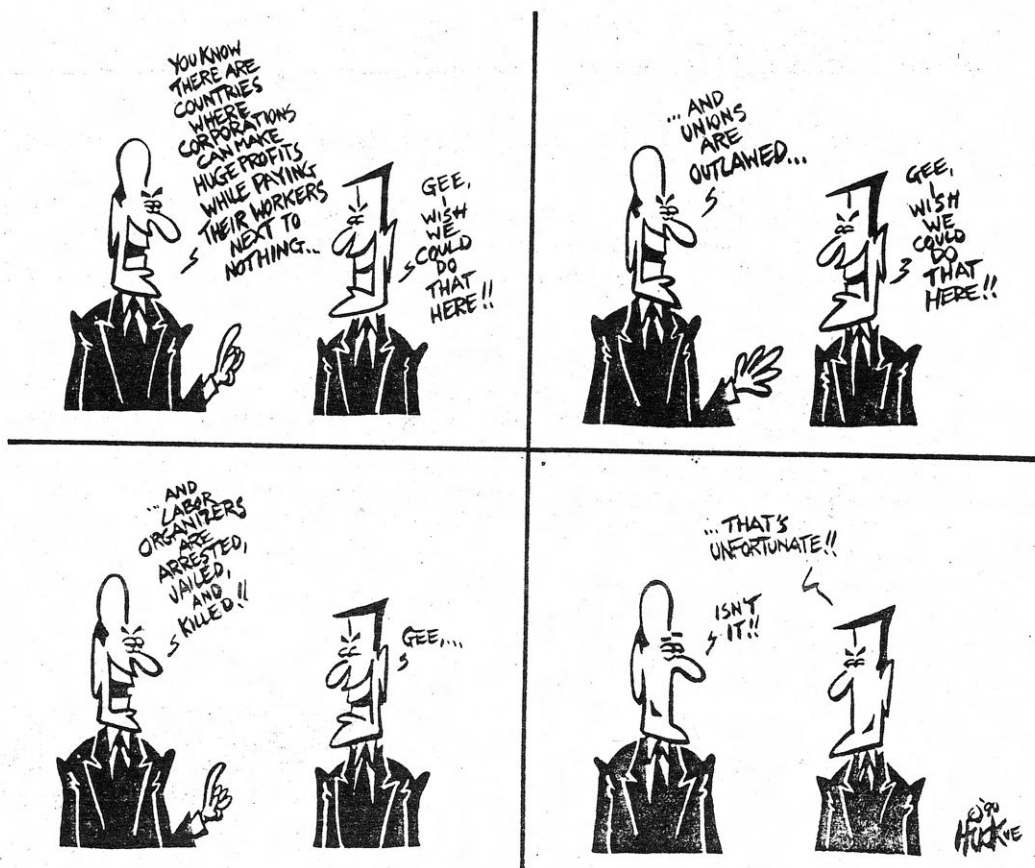
If anyone still has any doubts in regard to Chomsky's zionism all that needs to be done is go to the nearest library and check it with the zionist encyclopedia: the *Encyclopedia Judaica*. There, alongside names like Herzl, Jabotinsky and the notorious zionist quisling Kastner, sure enough is Noam Chomsky, and this is the 1971 edition. So Noam Chomsky has a long record of service to political zionism!

Inside Israel Chomsky acts as a powerful brake on any development of an anti-zionist Israeli front which is long overdue. Similarly, his influence enhances and fortifies the grip of the zionist hierarchy over the zionist ghettos in Western countries. Outside the zionist ghettos Chomsky's influence helps the zionist propaganda machine whitewash zionism, especially his latest "championing" of the East Timor cause. It is very doubtful if he would have done it if Indonesia, which rules over East Timor, was not a member of the Islamic countries' organisation which supports the Palestinian cause. Witness, for example, Chomsky's silence regarding the crimes of Burma against its own people as well as against the many national minorities against whom it ruthlessly carries out a campaign of genocide. Witness his silence, in other examples, regarding the genocidal war of the ruling junta against the indigenous people (indians) of Guatemala, or in Colombia. In all three examples - Burma, Guatemala and Colombia - the zionist Gestapo was deeply involved in helping the rulers' campaigns to exterminate the indigenous people. Could that have been the reason for Chomsky's silence?

Of course, the struggle of the people of East Timor deserves the support of humanity, as does the struggle of the people of Indonesia for human rights inside Indonesia. Inviting zionists to champion that struggle is like inviting foxes to guard the chickens' pen. It does not augur well for the people of East Timor.

Noam Chomsky regards himself as a "Left Wing" zionist. Such a definition is as valid as would be, for example, the description of any fascists as "Left Wing" fascists. Yet it is true that fanatical zionists have always kept up the pressure on any dissenters within the zionist state or within the zionist ghettos outside it. Like any other fascist movement zionism does not tolerate dissent, which is why the fanatical zionists attack even committed zionists like Noam Chomsky.

Benjamin Merhav
1.5.1997



BENJAMIN MERHAV, WHAT THE HELL ARE YOU TALKING ABOUT?

In his essay 'Noam Chomsky, Whose Side Are You On?', Benjamin Merhav offers what I interpret as being a slightly different version of what has elsewhere been referred to as the "Chomsky problem". Commenting on Chomsky's status as both revolutionary linguist and social critic, Milan Rai, author of *Chomsky's Politics*, writes that:

[t]he sharply different responses in the US cultural mainstream to Chomsky's two bodies of work are well captured in a famous passage in the *New York Times*. Paul Robinson writes, 'Judged in terms of the power, range, novelty and influence of his thought, Noam Chomsky is arguably the most important intellectual alive'. However, Robinson continues, Chomsky is also a 'disturbingly divided' intellectual: 'On the one hand there is a large body of revolutionary and highly technical linguistic scholarship much of it too difficult for anyone but the professional linguist or philosopher, on the other, an equally substantial body of political writings, accessible to any literate person but often maddeningly simple-minded. The "Chomsky problem" is to explain how these two fit together'.¹

Merhav's version of the "Chomsky problem" is this: how "[c]an anyone reconcile his [ie., Chomsky's] pretence at opposing imperialism, racism and fascism with his support for zionism (which is the quintessence of all three)?" If Merhav's version of the "Chomsky problem" is a legitimate one - ie., if Chomsky is indeed a 'zionist', and if 'zionism' is indeed imperialist, racist and fascist in nature - then the task of reconciling Chomsky's championing of the cause of the East Timorese with his support for 'zionism' is clearly impossible, and Merhav is right to call Chomsky dishonest and a fraud. If, on the other hand, Merhav is *wrong* - and I intend to prove that he is - then Chomsky is neither a liar nor a fraud, and if anyone is being dishonest it is Merhav himself.

According to Merhav, 'zionism' is the "quintessence" of imperialism, racism and fascism. Through his alleged support for 'zionism', therefore, Chomsky is also in support of imperialism, racism and fascism. This is a very serious and disturbing allegation, especially given the more common perception of Chomsky as being someone *opposed* to imperialism, racism and fascism. What's even more disturbing, however, is the fact that Merhav presents only the flimsiest of evidence to actually support this allegation. Indeed, this evidence is so flimsy I'm forced to ask myself why did Merhav even bother presenting it? (As an aside, it's worth noting that despite his accusing Chomsky of being a 'zionist' Merhav fails to actually *define* 'zionism' other than by equating it with imperialism etc.. This is a question I will address later on in my reply.)

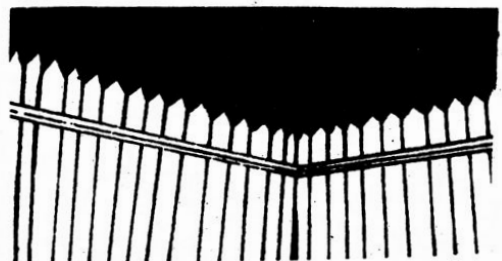
Contrary to the many lies and half-truths contained in Merhav's short essay, Chomsky:

- **has never proclaimed himself to be the "greatest intellectual in the USA"**. (If he has, I'd like to know where!) More likely Merhav is referring to the above description of Chomsky as being "the most important intellectual alive". Chomsky comments on this description in the film *Manufacturing Consent*:

Perhaps I ought to begin by reporting something that's never read - the line about the "arguably the most important intellectual" in the world and so on comes from a publisher's blurb. And you always got to watch those things (audience laughs) because if you go back to the original you'll find that that sentence is actually there - this is in *The New York Times* - but the next sentence is: "Since that's the case, how can he write such terrible things about American foreign policy?" And they never quote that part. But in fact if it wasn't for that second sentence I would begin to think that I'm doing something wrong. And I'm not joking about that. It's true that the emperor doesn't have any clothes, but the emperor doesn't like to be told it, and the emperor's lapdogs like *The New York Times* are not going to enjoy it if you do.²

¹ Milan Rai, *Chomsky's Politics*, Verso, London, 1995, p.2.

² Mark Achbar, ed., *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky And The Media*, Black Rose Books, Montreal, 1994, p.19.



- **is an outspoken critic of US support for Israel.** Perhaps Merhav simply failed to notice this (unlikely, but possible), but the idea that Chomsky has “ignored” US support for Israel is one of the most obviously wrong and easily disproved of his numerous attempts at smearing Chomsky’s reputation. See, for example, *The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel & The Palestinians*:³ a book described by Ron David, the author of *Arabs & Israel For Beginners*, as being “by a mile, the best general book on the Arab/Israeli conflict from the beginning of Zionism (c.1900) to Israel’s 1982 invasion of Lebanon...” with Chomsky being described as being the “fairest” writer David has ever read.⁴ (See also *Pirates and Emperors: International Terrorism in the Real World, Towards a New Cold War, Neccessary Illusions, Chronicles of Dissent* and elsewhere.)
- **does not currently describe himself as a ‘zionist’.** It is true that Zionism was “the main political concern of his youth”, but what kind of ‘Zionism’ was this?⁵ According to Chomsky,

‘Then I was very much interested in a Jewish organization which was *opposed* to the Jewish state in Palestine and worked for Arab-Jewish cooperation on a socialist basis’. Chomsky was ‘enormously attracted, emotionally and intellectually’, by what he saw as ‘a dramatic effort to create, out of the wreckage of European civilization, some form of *libertarian socialism* in the Middle East’. He was ‘strongly opposed to the idea of a Jewish state back in 1947-48’, in part because he felt sure that the ‘socialist institutions of the Yishuv - the pre-state Jewish settlement in Palestine’ - would not survive the state system. Integration into a system of state management would destroy the aspects of the Yishuv that he found most attractive.⁶

- **does not claim that the Zionist Kibbutz is “a model for humanity” in “his” “TV programme” *Manufacturing Consent*.** (*Manufacturing Consent* is neither “his” nor a “TV programme” but a *film* by Peter Wintonick and Mark Achbar.) Here’s what Chomsky *actually said* in 1974 in response to a question from English TV interviewer Peter Jay, footage of which is included in the film:

Peter Jay Historically, have there been any sustained examples on any substantial scale of societies which approximated the anarchist ideal?

Chomsky There are small societies, small in number, that have, I think, done so quite well and there are a few examples of large-scale libertarian revolutions which were largely anarchist in their structure. As to the first, small societies extending over a long period, I myself think the most dramatic example is the Israeli kibbutzim, which, for a long period - it may or may not be true today - really were constructed on anarchist principles, that is, of direct worker control, integration of agriculture, industry, service, personal life, on an egalitarian basis with direct and in fact quite active participation in self-management and were, I should think, extraordinarily successful...⁷

Elsewhere he adds that:

I was influenced by the kibbutz movement, and in fact lived for a while on a kibbutz and almost stayed on. I think there is much of value in the kibbutz experience, but *we must also not forget* (as I have sometimes tended to do) that the historical particularity of the kibbutz movement in Israel embodies many serious *flaws*, sometimes *crimes*.⁸

Chomsky also says in reference to his experience living on a kibbutz that:

...there were... things I didn’t like too. In particular, the ideological conformity was appalling. I don’t know if I could have survived long in that environment because I was strongly opposed to the Leninist ideology, as well as the general conformism, and uneasy - less so than I should have been - about the exclusiveness and the racist

³ South End Press, Boston, MA, 1983.

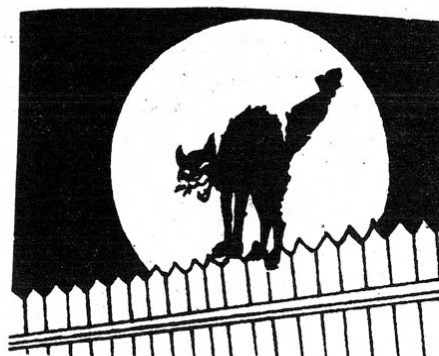
⁴ Ron David, *Arabs & Israel For Beginners*, Writers And Readers Publishing, New York, 1993, p.211.

⁵ Given that Chomsky has publicly admitted it, why Merhav thinks that “such a revelation does not emerge easily” is something I find hard to understand. And does the fact that Merhav repeats Chomsky’s statement that he comes from a “deeply Zionist” family mean that Merhav thinks that ‘Zionism’ is a genetic trait?

⁶ Milan Rai, *op. cit.*, p.10. Italics mine.

⁷ Mark Achbar, *op. cit.*, p.216.

⁸ Milan Rai, *op. cit.*, p.11. Italics mine.



institutional setting. What I did not then face honestly was the fairly obvious fact that these are Jewish institutions and are so because of legal and administrative structures and practice...⁹

- does *not* "then go on to state... that present day zionism has 'degenerated'". This is actually a characterisation of Chomsky by *Jonathan Steinberg*, a BBC radio announcer.¹⁰
- *did* speak on the subject of the struggles of the Palestinian people when he visited Australia. According to a report in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, Chomsky spoke at Macquarie University to as many as 1400 people on the Middle East.¹¹
- has *never* styled himself as being a "guru". While Chomsky is undoubtedly an influential figure, to describe him as a "guru" is simply wrong. Such a characterisation is more properly understood, in my opinion, as being a device used in an attempt to discredit ideas shared by Chomsky and many others regarding the world in which we live. (Thus Robert Manne, former editor of *Quadrant* magazine, describes Chomsky as being "[f]or those of the younger generation of the left... a kind of saintly hero".¹² Gerard Henderson, then executive director of the Sydney Institute, claims that Chomsky's visit to Sydney was "bound to be a great day for the faithful, believers and non-believers alike. Such is life when internationally acclaimed gurus are in town."¹³ Michael Danby writes that "[t]he visiting American language theorist Noam Chomsky was lauded ad nauseum by his supporters as their guru/martyr analyst of international politics, a sort of Mary McKillop of the Far Left".¹⁴ And there are no doubt many other examples.) This kind of labelling helps foster the idea that people are incapable of thinking for themselves but must instead rely on experts of one kind or another to interpret the world on their behalf. Personally, I couldn't care less if somebody claimed Chomsky is "the most important intellectual alive", or that right-wing nerds like Danby, Henderson, Manne et. al., refer to him as a "guru". What's more important are the things Chomsky actually *says*, a minor point which seems to have escaped Benjamin Merhav, among others.
- has *not* been silent regarding the struggles of indigenous people. Furthermore, it is simply outrageous for Merhav to imply that Chomsky's alleged silence is somehow due to the fact that "the zionist Gestapo" have played a key role in suppressing such struggles. It is outrageous not only because Chomsky has in fact been outspoken in his condemnation of the attempted genocide of indigenous peoples and Israel's role in promoting such practices, but also because very little effort was required of Merhav to discover this basic fact. For example, if Merhav had bothered to look up 'Israel' in the same *Chomsky Reader* in which he was able to discover the fact that Chomsky's family was "deeply zionist", he would have found a referral to page 328 under the sub-heading "Guatemalan massacres organized by", in which Chomsky writes that:

In the next stage of what the conservative Catholic hierarchy called "genocide", thousands of people were killed, mostly Indians. Since [the U.S.] couldn't do it ourselves, we used proxies, Argentine neo-Nazis, and particularly Israel, which was available for the purpose, and did a very effective job. Israel's role was widely praised in the West, I should say. The *London Economist*, for example, commented rather favourably on Israel's success in helping to organize major massacres, and contrasted it with the relative American failure in El Salvador at the same

⁹ James Peck, ed., *The Chomsky Reader*, Serpent's Tail, London, 1987, p.9.

¹⁰ "Since the 1960s, Noam Chomsky has been the voice of a very characteristic brand of rationalist, libertarian socialism. He has attacked the abuses of power wherever he saw them. He has made himself deeply unpopular by his criticism of American policy, the subservience of the intelligentsia, the degradation of Zionism, the distortions of media and self-delusions of prevailing ideologies." Mark Achbar, *op. cit.*, p.34.

¹¹ Julie Lewis and Anne Suskind, 'Thousands turn out to hear US dissident', in *Sydney Morning Herald*, Monday, 23.1.95, p.2.

¹² Robert Manne, 'A Cambodian view for the intellectuals', *The Age*, Wednesday, 25.1.95, p.11.

¹³ Gerard Henderson, 'Strong Words', *The Age*, Monday, 16.1.95, p.11.

¹⁴ Michael Danby, 'What the Australian Media Missed on Chomsky', *Australia/Israel Review*, 1-14.2.95, p.12.



time. The scale is essentially unknown, but just to give you one figure, it's now estimated, from this period alone, that about 100,000 children have lost one or both parents.¹⁵

Merhav's accusation is actually quite similar to another made by journalist David Frum. According to Frum, Chomsky "not only... ignore[s] the corpses [that are] created by [friends and enemies of the U.S.], but also... the corpses that are created by neither side but which are irrelevant to [his] ideological agenda", a charge Chomsky denies.

David Frum Well, let me give you an example, that one of your own causes that you take very seriously is the cause of the Palestinians, [notice that Frum's view is the exact opposite of Merhav's] and a Palestinian corpse weighs very heavily on your conscience. And yet a Kurdish corpse does not.

Chomsky That's not true at all. I've been involved in Kurdish support groups for years... I mean, you know, they come to me, I sign their petitions and so on and so forth. In fact, if you look at the things we've written, I mean take, say - take a look - I mean, I'm not Amnesty International. I can't do everything. I'm a single human person... The principle that I think we ought to follow is not the one that you stated [i.e., "every dead person should be in principle equal to every other dead person"]. You know, it's a very simple ethical point: *You're responsible for the predictable consequences of your actions.*¹⁶

So much for the long answers. Now for some short ones:

Q. How can Chomsky support the struggle of the people of East Timor and not that of the Palestinian people?

A. He supports both.

Q. Why would Chomsky want to "obscure his politics and hide his intentions"?

A. He doesn't.

Q. Does the fact that Chomsky was interviewed by *The Australian Jewish News* mean he is a 'zionist'?

A. No.¹⁷

As someone with serious doubts in regard to Chomsky's alleged "zionism", I took Merhav's advice and went to the (LaTrobe University) library and looked under 'Chomsky' in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*. What did I find? A short and - for me at least - rather uninteresting description of Chomsky's work in the field of linguistics, as well as an even briefer reference to his role as a critic of US foreign policy, in particular his opposition to the US war against Vietnam. This raises several questions. First, how on earth could this be interpreted as being evidence of "a long record of service to political zionism"?¹⁸ Secondly, in what sense is this a 'zionist' encyclopedia? According to the Introduction, the *Encyclopedia Judaica* "provides a comprehensive picture of all aspects of Jewish life and knowledge up to the present day, intended for both the Jewish and non-Jewish reader".¹⁹ In other words - and contrary to Merhav - the *Encyclopedia*

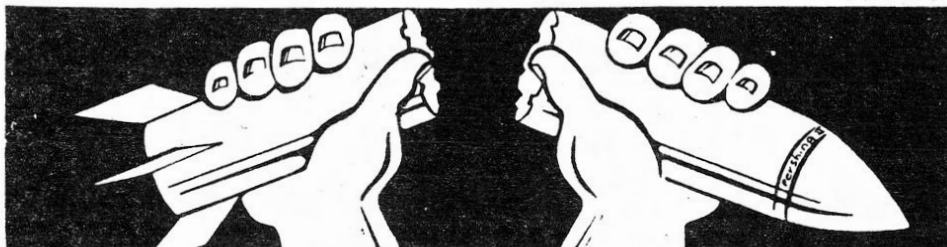
¹⁵ James Peck, ed., *op. cit.*, p.328. For other references in Chomsky's work to Guatemalan Indians see *Deterring Democracy*, Vintage, London, 1992, p.382, p.393; to American Indians p.34, p.35; to the role of Israel in Central America pp.133-134, p.161; for Guatemala see also *Turning the Tide: The U.S. and Latin America*, Black Rose Books, Montreal, 1987, esp. pp.28-31 and pp.154-157; with Edward Herman, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1988, esp. Ch.3. For Colombia see *Deterring Democracy*, esp. pp.128-134.

¹⁶ Mark Achbar, *op. cit.*, pp.118-119.

¹⁷ If it did, what does it mean that both *The Age*, *Herald Sun* and *Sydney Morning Herald* published articles about and letters from Chomsky; that Chomsky is a conservative/liberal bourgeois? If it did, what would it mean if someone decided to publish an interview with Chomsky under the headline 'Chomsky Unquestionably an Opponent of Zionism'?

¹⁸ This reminds me of one of the funnier episodes from the film *Manufacturing Consent*, in which Yossi Olmert, then a professor at Tel Aviv University, claimed Chomsky's defence of freedom of speech was "something which could be interpreted only in terms of a campaign against Israel". *Ibid.*, p.187.

¹⁹ Introduction to *Encyclopedia Judaica Volume 1*, The MacMillan Company, New York, 1972, p.1. Italics mine.



Judaica is Jewish, not "zionist". It may be true that "[t]here, alongside names like Herzl, Jabotinsky and the notorious quisling Kastner" the interested reader will find the name Noam Chomsky, but it's also true that (s)he will find the name Emma Goldman. Which raises another question: does Merhav consider Emma Goldman a 'political zionist' too? Finally, what is Zionism?

According to the *Encyclopedia*: "The modern term Zionism first appeared at the end of the 19th Century, denoting the movement whose goal was the return of the Jewish people to Israel."³ In an article contained in the *Encyclopedia Judaica Yearbook 1975-6*, Chomsky is described as being a "radical" Zionist. What does this mean? According to the author:

The breakdown of the liberal tradition [during the 1960's] was also a time of emerging influence of the "beyond-the-nation-state" proponents, of whom Noam Chomsky is of particular note. By 1968, speaking from what he termed an *Ahad Ha'am*⁴ perspective, he put forth a theory of the desirability of "kibbutzinization" of the Middle East. He proposed that Israel be in the vanguard of those states which would *abandon the apparatus of statehood*. The ensuing dialectic, in which he had an important role, picked up momentum and lasted for several years thereafter. It was vital to the articulation of the radical Zionist position on the one hand, and the renewed advocacy of the bi-nationalist state, on the other.⁵

Merhav's hope is that by exposing Chomsky as a 'zionist' he can dispel the idea currently prevalent among his audience of "Marxists of all kinds, Anarchists of all kinds... liberal[s] and Left[ists]" that Chomsky is a genuine opponent of 'zionist' (read: racist-fascist-imperialist) practices. This, apparently, will help end Chomsky's role as "a powerful brake on [the] development of an anti-zionist [movement] in Israel" and as someone whose "influence helps the zionist propaganda machine whitewash zionism".⁶ Given the overall nature of the evidence he provides in support of his other arguments, it's probably a good thing he offers absolutely *no* evidence to support these particular claims.

The short answer to Merhav's question "Is Noam Chomsky... a dishonest person? ...a fraud?" is 'No'. Neither is Chomsky a 'zionist'; at least not in the limited sense in which Merhav employs the term. Chomsky *is* an opponent of imperialism, racism and fascism. His opposition to these things is based on his support for *anarchism*, a philosophy with which Merhav appears to be ill-aquainted, as evidenced by his reaction to a "revealing" statement Chomsky made to the National Press Club:

Professor Chomsky, I'm Tim Dodd from the Financial Review newspaper and you're a caustic critic of secrecy and conspiratorial attitudes on the part of government. But can you take us beyond this negative appraisal and offer some practical principles for reform or in other words is there a form of government which you believe is deserving of our trust?

...When you ask is there a form of government we can trust; no, by definition. There is no form of authority that ever ought to be trusted. ...That ought to be second-nature. I mean, you don't trust authority. What you do is challenge authority. You ask authority to justify itself. Well, maybe sometimes it can justify itself. If so, okay. If it can't, dismantle it. But certainly don't trust it. You don't trust anybody but yourself.

Therefore, according to Merhav, it simply follows that Chomsky thinks that "all people are bad", and that therefore, "might is right". Therefore, Chomsky is a racist-fascist-zionist. Simple!⁷

The fact that Merhav misconstrues **opposition to authority and the positive value of thinking for oneself** as being evidence of 'racism' and 'fascism' says a lot more about *Merhav's* politics than it does Chomsky's. (Perhaps the reason Chomsky's statement "escaped [people's] attention" as being

³ *Ibid.*, Volume 16, p.1033.

⁴ Ascher Hirsch Ginsberg (1856-1927); Hebrew essayist, thinker.

⁵ Chara Alkon Katz, 'Jewish Radical Zionists in the US'. In *Encyclopedia Judaica 1975-6 Yearbook*, Keter Publishing House, Jerusalem, 1976, p.116. Italics mine.

⁶ It is unclear whether Merhav thinks that the success with which Chomsky has thus far managed to sell himself to a Western audience as being opposed to imperialism etc. is due to Chomsky's cleverness or his audience's stupidity. Perhaps Merhav could answer this question in his *next* essay?

⁷ If anyone understands Merhav's 'argument' it's probably only Merhav himself - and I'm happy for him - but quite frankly I'm buggered if I know what the hell he means by it!



'reactionary' was because *it isn't*.) Of course anarchists can, do and should critique Chomsky's work (and politics), and in exactly the same manner as they would any others'.²⁵ In other words, through an honest commitment to elucidating the strengths and limitations of that individual's contribution to our own understanding of the struggle for personal and social liberation from all forms of illegitimate authority. In other words, the quest for **anarchy**. If Merhav's short diatribe has any redeeming feature it is the fact that in writing a reply I have come to appreciate even more Chomsky's own contribution to this quest.

We live entangled in webs of endless deceit, often self-deceit, but with a little honest effort, it is possible to extricate ourselves from them. If we do, we will see a world that is rather different from the one presented to us by a remarkably effective ideological system, a world that is much uglier, often horrifying. We will also learn that our own actions, or passive acquiescence, contribute quite substantially to misery and oppression, and perhaps eventual global destruction.²⁶

Peace, love and anarchy, @ndy, 14.9.1998.



²⁵ For example, Val Plumwood, 'Noam Chomsky and Liberation Politics', a paper written as a contribution to the **Visions of Freedom** Conference (Jan 17-20 1995 in Sydney) which featured Chomsky as the major speaker. Also Ulrike Heider, *Anarchism: Left, Right, and Green*, City Lights Books, San Francisco, 1994, pp.37-47.

²⁶ *Turning the Tide*, p.1.

CONTAINER DEPOSIT LEGISLATION

ARGUMENT FOR RESOURCE RECOVERY AND WASTE MINIMISATION

Introduction

By way of introduction, I would like to define some words that you will inevitably encounter when dealing with the resource recovery industry.

1. **Recycling:** The recovery of materials previously used on a 'one off' occasion. Then to primarily use same, once as raw material in a production process to make a similar product. Discarded aluminium cans returned, to remake aluminium cans is a perfect example.
2. **Reprocessing:** The use of waste material to make a different product. An example would be aluminium cans returned, to make aluminium building frames.
3. **Reuse:** The using of a material more than once, such as the case of refillable bottles.

Container Deposit Legislation In Australia:

The Container Deposit Legislation (C.D.L.) was passed in South Australia in 1977. The act had been introduced in 1975 and was titled the "South Australia Beverage Container Act." This act was designed to limit the proliferation of can and bottle waste in South Australia, by imposing a 5 cent deposit on single fill containers which would be passed onto the beverage container manufacturer. The Act, when first enacted, was in fact a watered down version of similar C.D.L. in vogue in some states of the USA. Since 1977 the Act has somewhat been amended. Bottlers and container manufacturers seem to be the main opponents to the C.D.L. since it's inception.

When you buy a drink or beverage in a non recyclable/returnable container, you actually pay extra for that container, because once you've finished with it, it is no longer reusable. If, on the other hand, you purchased your product in a returnable/recyclable container, and if that container was recycled, then the costs of that container would decrease. Unless, however, costs in reusing that container outweighed the initial cost of producing same.

Consider the local council dumping of non recycled/returned waste into tips. This costs every person money due to rates paying for tips and garbage disposal. One would then understand the reason why returnable bottle legislation is so important. Without economic incentive for consumers to reuse/recycle/return their containers, as well as the legislation that forces the packaging industry to comply with C.D.L., our wastes will continue to end up in tips. This in turn will add to the cost of waste

disposal and exacerbate the environmental hazard appertaining to our tips.

Industry Reaction to C.D.L.

The C.D.L., when introduced into South Australia, proved to be unfavourable to the container manufacturing industry. Coca Cola's corporate affairs manager, Mr Hall, said "I think it stinks." A.C.I.'s 1980 report had a more selective choice of terminology.

"Looking ahead, there is a potential and unnecessary problem that could seriously jeopardise sound economic growth of our Packaging Products Group. I refer to the possibility of various forms of legislation being passed by State Governments relating to compulsory deposits being imposed on beverage containers... We do not wish to see an Australia-wide re-occurrence of the South Australia scene."(1).

After intensive negotiations, Coca Cola and A.C.I. won exemptions from the Act for PET bottles. As a consequence, a no deposit axiom was allowed for a trial duration of 12 months, ending July 31, 1981. A broad cross section of South Australian groups banded together and campaigned during the period finally winning that small battle forcing PET bottles to be sold under the beverage container's act with a five cents deposit.

Anti Litter Campaign

Industry propaganda fronts and band aid approaches to litter controls (Keep Australia Beautiful, Clean Up Australia Day, Tidy Towns etc) only serve the interests of the packaging industry by pushing the blame directly onto the consumer. Litter is a problem that all Australians, both the consumers and producers of beverage containers, should take responsibility for. At best, legislation urging/forcing the bottlers to include "PLEASE DON'T LITTER" or "DO THE RIGHT THING" labels on their containers encourages the consumer to bin their rubbish. But what happens to all the rubbish in the bins? It ends up as landfill. It is merely licit littering when a council digs a big hole, shoving innumerable amounts of crap into it, and then covering up the hole.

C.D.L. was introduced into the South Australian Parliament to ensure that consumers had a choice between refillable bottles and single fill drink containers. The Act was designed to impose a 5 cent deposit on single fill containers. It was envisaged that the incidents of litter and waste would be greatly reduced due to consumer preference for refillable bottles and consumer reluctance and indolence to forfeit a deposit (2).

Worker's Health and Safety

It is important to note that one trip carbonated bottles pose the risk in exploding during

manufacturing/ transport. This is because the standards for one trip bottles are less than those for reusable bottles. The PET plastic industry distorts the facts and claims that plastic bottles are safer to use. However, it conveniently forgets to mention that not all beverages are carbonated or that reusable bottles are far more superior to one trip bottles.(3).

Government Legislation VS Industry.Knows Best

Some may argue that governments should keep their noses out of industry and allow the bosses make their own policies. Sort of a 'liberalism of the industry or capitalist anarchism'. In third world dictatorships, such practices exist. Industry does not worry too much about trade unions because trade unionists disappear into the night never to be found. Industry does not worry about pollution and waste control either. With inadequate or no government/military legislation within the industry and bribing of those in authority, industry gets away with any and everything. Little wonder, the worst industries are packing their bags and closing shop in the western countries and opening up their filthy factories in third world countries. I am not arguing that government legislation is the answer. If that was the case, then State Socialist (State Capitalist) countries would be world leaders in environmental management.

I am for worker control of the means of production and community self management. As an advocate of revolutionary anarcho syndicalism, I see no reason to believe in the good will of the State or industry.

"Power operates only destructively, bent always on forcing every manifestation of social life into the straitjacket of its rules. Its intellectual expression is dead dogma, its physical form brute force. And this unintelligence of its objectives sets its stamp on its representatives also, and renders them often stupid and brutal, even when they were originally endowed with the best talents."

However, we live in a representative democracy, which means that we get to vote for someone to rule our country every three years. In fact, if you do not vote in Australia you are sanctioned by way of fine. Whether I like it or not, as I live under a representative democracy, I must then adapt to it. I am fully aware of the corruption in government and the power that the rich and powerful have in shaping government policy. As an anarchist I am naturally opposed and in perpetual conflict with the state, the rich, and anyone that supports the state. However, if C.D.L. is going to provide working people with jobs and compel the manufacturing industry to move towards a more ecologically sustainable direction, then I am for it. I would much rather legislation that imposes a fine on dumping of toxic chemicals than no

legislation at all. I am a realist. To be nonchalant is not productive.

Consumer Choice

Some voices within the C.D.L. debate may have you believe that 'Communists' or 'Greenies' are behind the push for standardised bottles and compulsory deposits to be imposed on the bottling industry. This is obviously an attempt to undermine the freedom of the consumers of this country to enjoy drinking from single use containers. Well we know what they say about recycling bins, don't we? Behind each recycling bin lies a potential communist! SO beware....Make sure you are the first one in your street to do any suspicious behaviour to your local police. The following report, Deposits On Beverage Containers, was presented by the Representatives' Standing Committee on Environment and Conservation in 1974.

The packaging industry argues that they cater to the demands of the consumers...It can, however, be argued that in reality the consumer has not been provided with a real choice and that these disposable products are very heavily promoted.

The manufacturers and fillers justify their actions on the grounds that they are catering for the wants of the consumer. This raises questions as to whether consumers get what they want or what they are told they want. In large supermarket chain-stores, the consumer's choice is becoming increasingly limited to non-returnable items.

Witnesses favouring a non-returnable scheme were unable to justify their view of consumer wishes being the reason for the introduction of a non-returnable product...There was no evidence that a survey of consumer wishes was carried out prior to the introduction of non-returnable containers (4).

Employment

'Scavenger' is a term that is affectionately used for an individual that collects cans (or deposit bearing containers) in order to cash them in for a monetary refund. The booklet, 'Jobs From Recycling', is based on two surveys conducted in South Australia by Friends Of The Earth Melbourne in June 1982 and February 1983 (5). From that particular survey it was ascertained that in rural areas of South Australia women, children, the elderly, and people with disabilities were provided with the opportunity to find work in 'scavenging' or staffing collection depots. These people, due to discrimination, probably would not otherwise have any alternative means of employment, except for government handouts. One country can depot was run by a spastic young man. His father commented in the survey that the deposit legislation enabled him to set his son up in his job.

During the ROXSTOP desert action and festival in opposition to Uranium Mining and its effects (October, 1997) held in the Lake Eyre region, all bottles and cans left over were collected and dropped off in the township of Marree for the Aboriginal children to cash in for a monetary refund. For those of us on \$1000 a week, the few dollars made from deposits may seem like peanuts, but for many in South Australia's outback, a few dollars from 'scrounging' is a means of survival. Pauline Hanson (a white M.P. that thinks that indigenous Australians have got it too easy) may say otherwise, but then again, what does she know anyway.

Not only does C.D.L. provide employment for unskilled workers, but also opens up infinite avenues for skilled work too. With the introduction of C.D.L. in Victoria, depots will be opened both in the cities as well as in rural areas. This will mean potential jobs for people staffing depots. Also, transport of recycled containers from depots and shops to recycling/rebottling plants will see a boost in the number of people employed in transport. Industry that deals with the recycling and reuse will also benefit by the increase in container returns. Rather than funding scientific research in nuclear energy or genetic engineering, the government would be better diverting their grants to more efficient and innovating designs in recycling.

The 'Anarcho Syndicalist Federation of Australia-Statutes and Basis For Federation' state the following. "In the present, we take an active part in the struggle for worker solidarity, shorter hours, immediate wage increases and improved working conditions." At current aluminium buy back rates, one would receive 85 cents for a kilo of aluminium cans. Aluminium cans are around 20 grams in weight (I weighed one at my local post office scale). Thus it would take approximately 50 cans to make up one kilo gram giving the 'scavenger' a mammoth 85 cents for possibly one hours work. Should C.D.L., such as the one currently in South Australia, be introduced in Victoria, then at 5 cents a can, one would receive \$2.50 for one kilogram of cans. That is an increase of almost 300% for possibly the lowest paid 'unofficial' job in this country.

Conclusion

A C.D.L. will work best if it is all encompassing. In South Australia, fruit juice and milk cartons are exempt from the legislation, thus encouraging non reusable packaging for fruit juice and milk, but promoting reusable containers for the beverage industry. If the legislation is expanded to include all drinks, and if a standardised bottle container size is imposed, then not only will more reusable containers find their way into the market, but also the price of reusing containers will dramatically drop due to the uniform size in containers. It is much easier to have, if you will, 20 different sizes of containers to sort through and refill than hundreds of

different shapes and sizes. It is both less labour intensive and costs less to run.

C.D.L. is merely a drop in the ocean so to speak. Imagine an industry wide legislation that effects all industry at the point of production to provide for recycling and reuse of resources as well as forcing the government to provide the infrastructure and resources to make that happen. I am adamant that no matter what legislation the government introduces it will be full of loopholes to get their rich buddies out of taking responsibility for their factory waste. To reiterate, I am for worker control of the means of production and community self management.

This report was merely a means to educate working people so that they may raise the issues I have brought forward in their own community. Even more importantly, this report is aimed at those already employed in the recycling industry or even those who may wish to be involved in resource recovery and reuse. I accept that many people or groups are or have proposed the ideas put forth in this report and lobbied parliament or local councils. I do not wish to hinder any one that chooses such action as I feel it is the best propaganda for libertarian ideas when people see for themselves bureaucracy at work, demoralising as it may be.

I would like to thank all the folks at Friends Of The Earth (Melbourne) for giving me access to their C.D.L. archives, Enzo Pacelli for proofreading, and the Anarcho Syndicalist Group Melbourne for their support in this report. I can be contacted by email (at the end of this document) for any suggestions or ammendments to the ideas expressed in this report.

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BOOK REVIEW

Title: Bourgeois Influences on Anarchism
Author: Luigi Fabbri
Publisher: Sea Sharp Press

Introduction

This booklet is a collection of essays written most likely just prior to WWI. The essays touch on various themes which have as much relevance today as they did at the turn of the century.

Violent Literature And Anarchism

In this section, Luigi draws a link between the violent literature that appeared in Europe during the 1890's and the spate of so called "propaganda by the deed" acts of violence. Bomb throwers and assassins were written off as almost martyrs for their acts, which in many cases killed innocent people. Along with them, the term anarchism followed, and in the journals and publications of the mainstream press the term anarchism was tossed alongside despicable terrorist acts.

Today, we have a similar (though not as violent) situation. The 'Chaos Punk'. Individuals that wear the anarchism symbol (letter a inside a circle) on their studded jacket and get off on such anti social acts as mindless destruction of property, violence, and even racist attitudes. And who gets all the sensationalist press. The hard working libertarian in their local place of work or community or the parasite with the fancy clown costume and spiked hair. Who do you think. The contributions of the other punks to libertarian ideas such as antimilitarism, D.I.Y. music, and squatting sure don't get a mention in the press do they.

I myself am the first to admit that I am fascinated by individual acts of violence against tyrants. But anarchism is a social theory. It aims to build working class communities and struggles through mass movements and not by sensationalist acts of terror. Individuals that follow the path of terrorism or individual violent acts, no matter how noble, are merely causing harm to anarchism should they commit acts in the name of anarchy.

Bourgeois Influences On Anarchism

In this essay, Luigi continues to question the validity of bourgeois literature when it deals with anarchism. Luigi makes an interesting comment with regard to the sensationalist press. "There can be no doubt that the bandit who assaults and kills a traveller provides a more useful literary subject than a petty thief or pickpocket in the streets." When do we ever see an article of an obscure militant who through a life of constant work produces much more radical changes in consciousness and in events." Never. But if two anarchist vegans go out and brick a butcher's shop, you get newspapers screaming anarchist hoodlums.

The bourgeoisie press has done wonders to portray anarchy as meaning criminality. Many criminals have in fact swallowed what they see or hear in the press and embraced anarchism as their own. Luigi Fabbri quotes one example where in the city of exiles, Tremiti, "I was told of a modest banquet of anarchists and socialists to which two or three cammoristas were invited-the only non political exiles on the island- out of simple human decency having nothing to do with politics; and when they arrived at a toast, and to great surprise, one of the cammoristas raised his cup to the union of the three parties

(cammora, anarchists, socialists) against the government." Anyone with half a brain can tell you that the cammora (Mafia) will side with anyone that suits their own end. Governments, unions, Vatican, CIA.

Many well known anarchists have resorted to criminality to fund the movement. Classic examples include Sabate following Franco's seizure of power over Spain in 1939 and in more recent times, Italian anarchist, Alfredo Bonnano, who is currently serving a prison sentence for armed robbery. Luigi Fabbri appears to condemn any illegal ends, unless in self defence, but I personally can see no harm if individuals anarchists choose to rob banks to fund the movement. Of course, this will bring the police down on our movement. Thus I believe that individuals should distance themselves from any public political acts before they engage in any serious illegal acts. Bank robbing is a serious act because it takes money from the rich, and I'm sure you know how much the rich despise anyone that tries to share the wealth around.

Anarchism And The Use Of Violence

"The oppressed and exploited are never the first to employ violence, because the original violence comes from those who oppress and exploit..." Luigi states the obvious. That we live in violent times and, though as anarchists we strive for peace, that violence is sometimes necessary for survival.

Violent Language In Polemics and Propaganda

Luigi gives us a personal account of his introduction to anarchist literature. "I remember the first time that anarchist periodicals fell beneath my gaze; their style, rather than persuading me, offended me..." Anarchist literature and periodicals are very violent in nature even today. Kill this. Bash that. Smash this. Destroy that. Little is set aside for any concrete alternative or initiative taken up by workers and communities. Instead, pages are taken up with vicious attacks (sometimes warranted), insults, and desperate pleas for extreme measures.

Luigi has some sound advice for anarchists in that he urges us to use language which is moderate and not always desperate and raised in tone. "In propaganda its always necessary to strike a chord which resonates in the human heart, and this will be impossible if you habituate your spirit to violence. After the first impression, habit takes over. It's like a person who is at first enormously impressed upon simply hearing the discharge of a revolver, but later doesn't become the least bit agitated when at a firing range. And we need to agitate incessantly in order to call attention to our arguments." As for other oppressed people who also fight for social justice but who have opinions different from anarchism (ie; Marxist, green party) Luigi believes that "what now divides us is a difference of opinion; and to treat someone abusively because he/she doesn't think or work like us is a grand presumption, an antisocial act." If we wish to win lefties to our ranks then we had better establish our own newspapers, unions, information, and solidarity campaigns. The Democratic Socialist Party, be it a political party, has a newspaper that is sold Australia wide. When has the Australian anarchist movement ever had a national paper. Unless of course you count Rebel Worker (with the same editor for decades) as a national anarchist newspaper.

Conclusion

This short pamphlet was a great introduction to some basic anarchist ideas and problems faced by the libertarian movement. The Bourgeois (upperclass) influences on anarchism are as damaging today as they were at the turn of the century. Rock stars from Mick Jagger to one of the 'Spice Girls' have proclaimed themselves to be anarchists. So what's that supposed to mean. In the movies, newspapers, and radio, the word 'anarchy' almost always denotes destruction.

Plagiarism®
property is theft®

Plagiarism. Whats all the fuss about? Nothing much really, it's nothing new and is the base of modern consumption based culture. Any so called new idea is just an old one applied to a new situation. This is true for all fields of human knowledge. It has been taged by many names such as recycling, collage or pastiche. But why not call a spade a spade, plagiarism is plagiarism. It is taking something and making it relevent to your own life.

Dominant culture structures itself around such ill defined terms as 'freedom' and 'individuality' and often suggests that one is defined by the other. But what do these rhetorical terms actually mean? Who are you? Are you really that different from anyone or anything else? Who really cares if you are? I mean really, you are just a tiny pin-prick in a vast universe so who cares about your perverse need to be 'unique'? Ironically so called originality under dominant culture has in reality lead to the opposite of individuality. Who really benefits from copyright laws? The artist? Probably not. Increasingly culture is owned and controlled by a corporate elite.

Plagiarism is the conscious manipulation of pre-existing elements in the creation of 'aesthetic' works. Plagiarism is inherent in all 'artistic' activity, since both pictorial and literal 'arts' function with an inherited language, even when their practioners aim at overthrowing this recieved syntax (as happened with modernism and post-modernism).

In his poems, Ducasse wrote: 'Plagiarism is necessary. Progress implies it.' This maxim summarises the use to which plagiarism has been put ever since. Two, or more, divergent elements are bought together to create new meanings. The resulting sum is greater than the individual parts.

The Lettristes, and later the Situationists, called this process 'detournement' (diversion is a literal translation from the French), but the activity is still popularly known as plagiarism - the term that Lautreamont used.

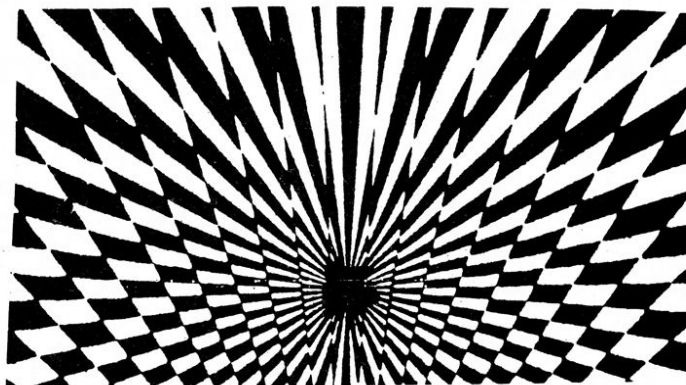
Plagiarism enriches human language. It is a collective undertaking far removed from the post-modern 'theories' of appropriation. Plagiarism implies a sense of history and leads to progressive social transformation. In contrast, the 'appropriations' of post-modern ideologists are individualistic and alienated. Plagiarism is for life, post-modernism is fixated on death.

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African Anarchism -History of a Movement

Sam Mbah & IE Igariwey

ISBN 1-884365-05-1

See Sharp Press PO Box 1731, Tucson, AZ 85702-1731 USA 1997. 120p.p. \$14

The authors are members of the Nigerian based Awareness League, the regional section of the anarcho-syndicalist International Workers Association. What do we hear of Africa? Exotic images of safaris for tourists, and new (to us - old, folk to Africans) forms of music and art or military barbarism in Rwanda, starvation in civil war torn "African States". Radicals with more political interests would know of Nigerian Ken Saro-Iwa, a play-wright & advocate for the superexploited Ogoni indigenous people was executed (along with several others) by the military run State on behalf of the Shell oil Corporation. South African events are better known now they are back in the Commonwealth Games and for Apartheid being overcome by long term prisoner and now President Nelson Mandela. He rode the wave of strikes and community uprisings which finally broke apartheid. John Pilger's recently shown tv doco on the new economic apartheid has shown a boss is a boss whether Black or White. So too in Zimbabwe (ex-Rhodesia); the white capitalist system continues to exploit the black majority, with new Black politicians and judges and police, prison and military officers to run the still repressive regime. Again in Kenya and in many other regions. The failure of African "revolutions" is where the authors begin.

They define anarchism as the overthrow of capitalism, the state, religion and other hierarchical organisations. They seek to return society to horizontal organisation, voluntary cooperation, mutual aid, decentralisation and individual autonomy. The European roots of the Colonisers are contrasted with their opponents the International Socialists of Europe. Disagreement between Marx and Bakunin over the role of the State divided the labour movement into authoritarians (Parliamentary Politicians and military putsch Bolsheviks) vs libertarians. Those denounced by Marx & Engels as "Bakuninists" took the path of autonomy, anarcho-syndicalism in Spain, Switzerland, Italy, France. New ground is covered in Anarchist Precedents in Africa, for me the most original and interesting writing bringing to mind other pre-Colonial societies eg Australian and American indigenous peoples.

A critical look at the development of Socialism in Africa looks at Colonialism, cooptation of local leaders, the union movement and the liberation struggle, the Communist Party in South Africa, the failure of Socialism in Guinea, Tanzania's Ujamaa Socialism, Ethiopia, Bukino Faso, state capitalism, one -Party ideologies & military intervention & corruption in Ghana & Nigeria, the role of the International Monetary Fund's Structural Adjustment Programs, human rights, repression in Libya, Nigeria & Zimbabwe. They finish with Obstacles to the development of Anarchism in Africa eg ethnic vs class consciousness, religion & cultural factors. They seek internationalism as the strategy to break through these problems and help the local movement grow. They conclude that anarchism is the only way out for Africa from the dire economic situation of capitalist & Marxist Socialist crises.

This is a great start, and a good internationalist effort by See Sharp Press in the USA in bringing this book to print. The author Sam Mbah is as I write, attempting to get a visa to tour and speak in several US cities. It continues the good work done by Lorenzo Kombo Ervin on Anarchism & the Black Revolution followed up with speaking tours of Europe and Australia. Such activists are laying the foundations for a 21st century anarchist movement based in the diverse working class communities. A living, growing, movement of anarchists today. We need more such activists how about you mate?

ARMED JOY

Alfredo Bonanno

Elephant Editions BM Elephant London WC1N3XX 1997. \$1.75

First published as *La gioia armata* (1977, Catania, Sicily, Italy) it is dismissive of all but the most individually revolutionary acts. It is written in Situationist language style eg refers to the society of the spectacular commodity. The most vitriol is spat at those who "want anarchy without turbulence." ("If things take a different turn they start screaming, yelling loud enough for the police to hear them"). The author is presently in jail for armed robbery. The police repression of Social Centres (many are squats), raids across Italy looking for those they could fit up for unsolved robberies split the Anarchists into activist and quietist. As always some blame the State others denounce the activities for bringing on the repression. In 1977 Italy was a volcano with many formerly Party dominated young Marxists turning "autonomist" that is libertarian away from the Lenin Party model. They worked with, fell out with, made up again with Anarchists of the direct action tendency. Jointly they turned protests into festivals, demos into barricades & occupations to the outrage of the Stalinist PCI, the Christian Democrats, Mafiosa, Roman Catholic Church, neo-fascist MSI and the Bosses as strikes, walk -outs "proletarian shopping" mass looting erupted. Feminists, ecologists - anti-nuclear, activists, anti-militarists, queers, prisoner solidarity, networks, pirate radios, youth punks & student militants all got lively.

To write to Alfredo Bonanno check your local Anarchist Black Cross bulletin for news.





what do you mean ANARCHY?

An Introduction to Anarchism



What is Anarchism?

Anarchism is a political philosophy that is shrouded in misconception. This is largely due to the fact that anarchism is a truly diverse way of thinking, one which cannot be characterized by simple slogans or party lines. In fact, if you ask 10 anarchists for their description of anarchism, you are likely to get 10 different answers. Anarchism is more than just a political philosophy; it is a way of life that encompasses political, pragmatic and personal aspects.

The basic tenet of anarchism is that hierarchical authority - be it state, church, patriarchy or economic elite - is not only unnecessary, but is inherently detrimental to the maximization of human potential. Anarchists generally believe that human beings are capable of managing their own affairs on the basis of creativity, cooperation, and mutual respect. It is believed that power is inherently corrupting, and that authorities are inevitably more concerned with self-perpetuation and increasing their own power than they are with doing what is best for their constituents. Anarchists generally maintain that ethics are a personal matter, and should be based upon concern for others and the wellbeing of society, rather than upon laws imposed by a legal or religious authority (including revered laws such as the U.S. Constitution). Most anarchist philosophies hold that individuals are responsible for their own behavior. Paternalistic authorities foster a dehumanized mindset in which people expect elites to make decisions for them and meet their needs, rather than thinking and acting for themselves. When an authority arrogates to itself the right to overrule the most fundamental personal moral decisions, such as what is worth killing or dying for (as in military conscription or abortion), human freedom is immeasurably diminished.

Anarchists acknowledge the connection between various forms of oppression - including sexism, racism, heterosexism, classism, and national chauvinism - and recognize the futility of focusing opposition on one form of injustice while others continue to exist. Anarchists believe that the means one uses to transform the world must be in accord with the ends that one hopes to achieve. While anarchists disagree about strategies and tactics, including the need for formal organizations and the use of violent action to overthrow existing violent institutions, most agree that the focus must not be on merely destroying the current order, but on fashioning new, more humane and more rational alternatives to take its place.

Anarchists in History

Anarchists have played a part in revolutionary movements throughout history. The French Revolution begun in 1789 had a strong proto-anarchist element. Anarchists such as Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Peter Kropotkin, Mikhail Bakunin, and Errico Malatesta played an essential part in the development of revolutionary anarchist theory in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Anarchists played a substantial role in the revolutionary movements in Russia in 1905 and 1917, but were suppressed, often ruthlessly, once the Bolsheviks had consolidated power. The Spanish Revolution of 1936-1939 set the stage for the most widely known large-scale manifestation of anarchist practice, in which anarcho-syndicalist organizations (the FAI and CNT) successfully created workable, non-hierarchical social and economic alternatives. In the United States, as well as in Mexico and Latin America, there was an anarcho-syndicalist influence within the trade union movement (for example the Industrial Workers of the World). Prominent anarchists such as Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman participated in a variety of radical causes throughout the early 1900s. There was a strong anarchist current in many of the social change and alternative lifestyle movements of the 1960s (including parts of the feminist movement, the gay liberation movement and the anti-war and free speech movements), although in many cases these were overshadowed, if not frankly repressed, by Marxist/Leninist/Maoist currents.

What Anarchism is Not

In an effort to clarify what anarchism is, it is useful to examine what anarchism is not:

Communism: While many anarchists value communalism and collectivism, anarchists reject the totalitarianism of the existing and recently fallen communist, or more accurately Marxist-Leninist, states. The rift between anarchists and Marxists developed as early as the 1870s as anarchists perceived that the Marxists were perpetuating authoritarianism under a different name. Marxist-Leninists groups have traditionally emphasized the need for a vanguard party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, ideas which are fundamentally opposed to the anarchist focus on anti-authoritarianism and maximum individual freedom. Although orthodox Marxism predicts that the state will "wither away" with time, we have repeatedly seen in communist regimes a consolidation of state power and its attendant repression and insistence on conformity.

Libertarianism: Libertarians are often confused with anarchists and do, in fact, overlap in many respects. Both share an emphasis on individual freedom and the desire to do away with the state. Many libertarians assign primary importance to the individual and emphasize the principle of enlightened self-interest. Many anarchists tend to focus more on mutual aid and efforts to improve the circumstances of all members of the community. Libertarianism is most often characterized by its economic viewpoint, which places maximum value on unimpeded free market capitalism (some proponents call themselves "anarcho-capitalists"), condones the use of force in the defense of private property, opposes any governmental interference that impedes efforts to maximize personal economic gain, and discounts values that can not be measured in economic (typically monetary) terms. While libertarians are anti-state, they often are not opposed to domination and hierarchy in all its forms (there is often a strain of "survival of the fittest" or "(economic) might makes right" in the libertarian philosophy), and do not seek to radically alter societal power relations, especially those based on economic power. Anarchists tend to have a more socialist perspective, and favor doing away with any system in which the wealthy can achieve disproportionate benefit while the less fortunate suffer undue hardship. While anarchists value individual initiative, intelligence, and creativity, it is recognized that those who possess such talents to a lesser degree should still be treated with respect and justice. Objectivists are an extremist type of libertarian. The Libertarian Party is relatively moderate and tends to focus on issues like electoral reform, abolishing drug laws, and reducing governmental regulation. Many libertarians are "minarchists" who believe that some form of government is necessary but that it should be as minimal and unobtrusive as possible. The question of what type of economic system would exist in an anarchist society is an open one. Some anarchists believe that all forms of capital and the market economy must be abolished, others favor a system that promotes worker ownership and full participatory democracy within a market economy, and still others believe that a variety of economic systems can co-exist as long as they do not try to impose their systems and values on each other.

"Liberalism": The prevailing political notions in this country equate anarchism with leftism, and leftism with liberalism, but there are real differences, both quantitative and qualitative. The idea of "the Left" is problematic in the 1990s, since much of modern politics tends to fall outside the traditional left (liberal)/right (conservative) spectrum. Although most anarchists do support "progressive" causes, anarchism does not really have a place within the traditional political spectrum. Some theorists have proposed a matrix that looks at degree of economic authoritarianism and degree of social authoritarianism as two separate axis; often those who favour economic liberty oppose social liberty and vice versa. Much of modern progressive politics is based on "identity politics," the idea that one's primary concerns and alliances should be made on the basis of race, gender and/or sexual orientation. Although many anarchists are heavily invested in identity politics, a more comprehensive anarchist philosophy looks forward to a time when people will not need to focus so much on such categorizations. While liberals tend to advocate efforts to reform the existing system (through such means as voting, lobbying, and organized demonstrating), anarchists have a more radical view, and wish to replace corrupt institutions entirely, and refashion a more humane society by means of direct action, without reliance on any form of statist intervention. While anarchists generally recognize the validity of evolutionary as well as revolutionary change, they acknowledge that in order to achieve a true reordering of society it is necessary to eradicate hierarchical dominance relations wherever they exist; this has not historically been a priority of liberals. Anarchists recognize that the structures



of power themselves (be they capitalist or communist, "democratic" or totalitarian) are the root of the problem, and as such, cannot be the basis for a solution. Although some anarchists engage in voting and organized protest in the belief that even small localized improvements are worthwhile, they recognize that such activities are merely interim steps, which one must go beyond in order to achieve real and lasting change.

Nihilism: In contrast to the "anti-everything" credo of nihilism, anarchists do not promote random violence, destruction, and "every man for himself" lawlessness (although there are always a few with this philosophy who call themselves "anarchists"). The common perception that anarchy is equivalent to chaos is an unfortunate misconception arising from the widespread belief, instilled by those in power, that authority is necessary to maintain order. Anarchists believe that an efficient, organized, and just society can be achieved on a non-hierarchical, decentralized, and participatory basis.

Currents within the Modern Anarchist Movement

Today's "anarchist movement" can more accurately be viewed as a collection of different movements that have various political and philosophical features in common. Building on, and sometimes diverging from, the principles of classical anarchism, there are a variety of groups that are enlarging the scope of contemporary anarchism and redefining traditional notions of anarchy.

Anarcha-feminists meld the ideals of feminism and anarchism.

Anarcha-feminists focus on the liberation of women and the role of the patriarchy more than classical anarchists, but not to the exclusion of other forms of oppression (as some other types of feminism have done). Not all women anarchists consider themselves anarcha-feminists, nor must an anarcha-feminist be female - the distinction is largely a matter of how "woman-centered" one's values are and which aspects of domination are emphasized. As is the case with many present day political movements, the issue of gender separatism remains unresolved. On one hand, the perpetuation within the anarchist movement of the same artificial gender divisions that have been imposed by the hierarchical and patriarchal social order may be inimical to the creation of true equality and to the breaking down of barriers which anarchists hope to accomplish. On the other hand, many women feel the need to maintain a women's space within a movement that has traditionally been male-dominated, and believe that the validity of women's concerns must be recognized and integrated into the anarchist philosophy before unity can be achieved. Anarcha-feminists generally reject statist solutions to women's problems (such as the censorship of pornography in an attempt to reduce violence against women) in favor of self-empowerment and direct action. Anarcha-feminist organizing can be characterized by an emphasis on decentralization, participatory decision making and action on a grassroots level. Anarcha-feminists generally believe that the fulfilment of human potential can best be achieved by moving beyond traditional gender roles and encouraging the development of beneficial "masculine" and "feminine" qualities in all people, and equality in all relationships. Many modern anarchists concentrate on applying the ideals of free will and self-determination to their personal lives. Within this tendency there is an emphasis on the acceptance of a variety of options in the realm of sexuality, family, and interpersonal relationships. Relationships should be based on the free choice and consent of all individuals involved, and not constrained by governmental, religious or societal restrictions. There are many queer anarchists - gay, lesbian, transgendered, and perhaps especially bisexual; anarchism's promotion of the breakdown of traditional categorization schemes seems particularly relevant to those with non-traditional and/or marginalized sexual and gender identities. As with feminists, some gay/lesbian/queer groups embrace anti-authoritarian principles and direct action (for example, AIDS activists who organize underground needle exchange programs and buyer's clubs for non-FDA-approved drugs). Recognizing that traditional mandates such as marriage, the patriarchal nuclear family, and enforced reproduction have been devised to serve the interests of those in positions of power and authority, anarchists emphasize the exploration of creative, voluntary relationship alternatives such as nonmonogamy, extended families, and communal child rearing, in addition to the more common traditional options. Anarchists generally want to get government out of the business of approving personal relationships, rather than extending such approval to same-sex relationships. Anarchist queers also typically oppose efforts to increase the gay presence in oppressive institutions such as the military.



Reclaim the Streets



Resistance is the secret of joy

They tell us globalisation is the only way, that there are no alternatives. Whenever we put forward any other option - let's occupy and reclaim this land or this building, let's fight to maintain our pay and conditions rather than accept that global competition means we must work harder for less, let's keep these villages and valleys rather than drown them with a World Bank funded dam which will force us from our homes, let's get rid of car culture with its poisonous legacy of climate chaos - when we demand this, they accuse us of being naive, out of step with the modern world, of being

against economic efficiency, standing in the way of progress, the need for growth and jobs.

Our desires and needs for free ecological communities, built on people collectively reclaiming control of their own lives, deciding what kind of things they want to produce, how and where to produce them, how they want to express their lives creatively - are denounced as utopian. But what is truly utopian is to continue to say that a form of development that defies ecological limits and causes increasing misery will suddenly create highly beneficial outcomes if only it can be accelerated and applied everywhere, freely and without any restrictions. Their blindness is utopian, our visions are extraordinarily practical, our dreams and desires radically realistic. We have nothing to lose except a way of living that leads to the destruction of all life.

Hundreds of thousands of people from all over India take to the streets of Hyderabad demanding India's withdrawal from the World Trade Organisation - Denmark goes on general strike, airports and car factories are closed down - Thousands of local women occupy the construction site of the Narmada dam, setting up a make-shift village and holding festivals. Construction of the project which will evict 320,000 people from their homes, grinds to a halt - Canadian postal workers join critical mass cyclists and striking workers to bring Toronto to a standstill - Tribal people block oil pipelines that are destroying their land and water systems in the Niger Delta - French truckers barricade motor ways and oil refineries - Karnataka farmers burn down a Kentucky Fried Chicken outlet - Liverpool dockers strike for two years against casualisation and their Australian counterparts disrupt world trade in Sydney - Australian dockers strike against deunionisation and government/boss dodgy collusion and are supported by thousands from the community and internationally - The Mirrar people, in Kakadu, Australia, blockade the construction of the Jabiluka uranium mine in the middle of their land - Students at RMIT Melbourne, Australia, occupy the finance office of the university for several months in protest of up-front fees - Supporters of the armed Zapatista uprising in Chiapas halt trading on the Mexican stock exchange - Riots spread across Indonesia in response to International Monetary Fund's imposed austerity measures - French farmers destroy tons of genetically modified maize - Brazilian land-less peasants occupy hundreds of unused stretches of land and build co-

operative self-managed communities - Tens of thousands of people across the globe reclaim their streets and dance in defence of common ground.

By taking direct action, people make connections, they talk and communicate with each other, they break down the isolation and fragmentation of this alienated society. These connections are now spreading across the globe as people realise that their particular local struggles are part of a wider problem - the global economy. As corporate colonialism and state repression is visited upon poor countries and the poor in rich countries alike, the divide between the problems in the North and the South are being eradicated. By joining together, diverse struggles are taking on a new and deeper significance.

We have a world to gain.

The global street party, with its challenge to private space and celebration of defiance, is part of this growing worldwide movement against the enclosure of our future. The global street party is not an end or a victory in itself, but a premonition of the time when the present conditions of our lives will be no more than a memory. If we do not leave the streets today and begin to work in any one of countless ways for communities instead of corporations, for people not profit, then the euphoria of today will recede to leave a hazy memory and a growing sense of powerlessness. Never before has there been such a powerful potential for global mass resistance. Never before has there been such unity in diversity. The moment is NOW.

Resist Refuse Reclaim

Globalisation shifts power even further away from human beings towards the most effective instrument for concentrating power ever developed: the transnational company. Many command larger economies than most countries. Indeed of the 100 largest economies in the world; 51 are transnational companies, 49 nation states. The economy of General Motors is larger than that of Indonesia, the fourth most populated country in the world.

Meanwhile an army of bureaucrats in institutions such as the European Union, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation are busy writing pieces of paper which force the ruthless principles of "free" trade into the lives of every citizen of the planet. The only thing which is "free" about "free trade" is the freedom it gives corporations to deprive everyone else of their freedoms. The rule of the markets, of competition and money is declared an inevitable future on every continent. The goal everywhere is the same: free all economic resources to serve thousands of transnational companies and financial institutions, not people or the

environment. Soon everywhere will look and feel like everywhere else, the same supermarkets and food, the same clothes and music, the same streets crowded with cars, poverty and misery.

Globalisation will not neutralise our resistance. it will GLOBALISE it!

Global Street Party

Revolutions are the parties of the uninvited

We are the uninvited, the oppressed, the ignored, despised and downtrodden. The rejected and rejectors. Occupiers of the sterile streets and no-go zones. **Jokers** in the racketeers pack **fools grinning** while the hierophants and high priests sermonise. We are the clowns serving the pie-faced **farce** to the invited guests. The invited play their part, play the game in earnest. They perform **tricks** and recite fine solemn words. They debate their business while the world looks on. Outside, the creative **chaos** of the **carnival** reigns, and for a moment we catch a glimpse of a different world, a **topsy-turvy** world where paupers can be kings, feasts are a free-for-all and **imagination** can run riot. The **revolutionary** carnival that is emerging will not only "turn the world up-side down" temporarily but inside-out, permanently. As the serious ones stand for the curtain call, we fall about with irresistible **laughter**. We laugh with the 1000's of indians surrounding the world bank and laughing "**HA HA HA**" we laugh with the ZAPATISTAS who fill the streets of Mexico with "**HA HA HA first world**". We **laugh** with the nervousness of the watched and the contempt of the "thief" for private property. We **laugh** with the broken, desperate and determined. Our **laugh** is the **laugh** of life itself and we plan to be **laughing last**.....

This was mostly taken from a Reclaim the Streets flier, for more information/propaganda check out:
<http://www.hrc.wmin.ac.uk/campaigns/rts.html>

For Melbourne Reclaim the Streets info contact Friends of the Earth, 312 Smith Street, Collingwood 3066 Tel 9419 8700

Also check out:

International Gene Week 2-15 October 1998

Saturday October 31 1998 Sydney all night RTS

Friday 18 June 1999 World-wide RTS

WHY THE FRENCH FARMERS DESTROY GENETICALLY ENGINEERED MAIZE

Jose Bove, is one of 3 farmers sued by Novartis Corporation and the French government for "denaturing" GE maize seeds.

Madame,

Today, I am present in this court together with Rene Riesel and Francis Roux, accused of committing a serious crime according to the law.

The alleged crime is: the destruction of sacks of genetically modified maize.

Yes, this is serious, and that's why I assume full responsibility for it. I am not going to hide behind collective, anonymous responsibility. As a trade unionist in the Confederation Paysanne, I believe in the ability of everyone to act as an individual. There is no place in our trade union for a hierarchy of responsibility. Each member of the union plays a main part in her or his own future, and is fully engaged in this. The strength of our union movement rests on this determination to mobilise free individuals who accept all the consequences of their acts knowing fully the motive for them.

Yes, on the 8th of January I participated in the destruction of genetically modified maize, which was stored in Novartis's grain silos in Nerac. (And the only regret I have now, is that I wasn't able to destroy more of it.) I knew that by acting in this way I was doing something illegal. But it was necessary, agricultural products have been imposed on European countries didn't leave us with any alternative.

When was there a public debate on genetically modified organisms? When were farmers and consumers asked what they think about this? Never.

The decisions have been taken at the level of the World Trade Organisation, and state machinery complies with the law of market forces. The WTO dictates its own law on the opening of trade barriers. The obligation to import bovine somatotrophine meat from the USA is a good example of this. The Panel of the WTO, the true policeman of world trade, decides what's "good" for both countries and their people, without consultation or a right of appeal.

The countries or groups of countries which refuse the importation of bovine somatotrophine meat or genetically modified products have to prove that these are dangerous, and not the inverse! The Codex Alimentaris, the norm dictated by the multinationals, is there to fix the rules of the game!

Why refuse something which is presented as "progress"? It's not because of being old fashioned or regret for the "good old days". It's because of concern for the future, and because of a will to have a say in future development. I am not opposed to fundamental research. I think that it would be illusory and detrimental to want to curb it. On the other hand, I don't think that every application of research is necessarily desired, at the human, social or environmental level.

The current discussion on cloning is like the one on genetic modifications. Is everything that is possible actually desired by and gainful for people?

Today, no intelligent person can say that genetically modified maize is an example of progress, neither for agriculture, nor for the economy. On the other hand, the greatest concerns surrounding genetically modified maize are as equally important for human health as for nature.

Novartis's Bt maize is associated with multiple long-term risks because of the presence of the three introduced genes. Even the director of Novartis recognises that a "zero risk" simply doesn't exist. Is this an admission of powerlessness, or a way in which to cast aside his future responsibility in case there are problems? The problems arising today with certain agricultural practices (such as animal-based feeds, the effects on bee populations etc.) only serve to reinforce our caution when dealing with the sorcerer's apprentices.

The biggest danger which genetically modified maize represents, as well as all the other GMOs, is the impossibility of evaluating the long-term consequences of their use, and to follow their effects on the environment, animals and humans.

No separation of genetically modified and non-manipulated products is carried out. For example, non-manipulated and genetically modified soya are actually mixed together when they arrive in France. As a result, there is no way of tracing the genetically modified soya. There is no choice left, neither for the producer, of which I am one, nor for the consumer, amongst whom we all number. What's going to happen about the French AOC label which verifies the origin of a product, and other labels which indicate quality?

What guarantee can we offer to those who claim to eat healthy products?

This type of culture also poses a threat to the future of farmers. For some decades production-ism has served to enslave farmers. From being a producer, the farmer has now become someone who is exploited, who can no longer decide on her or his way of managing the land, nor freely choose her or his techniques for this. However, a real revolution has been taking place for the last 15 years amongst members of the Confederation Paysanne, who have put this other type of agriculture back into action. Today, more and more farmers lay claim to a farmer's agriculture, which is more autonomous, economic, and which integrates problems associated with the environment, employment, and regional planning. We are faced with a real choice for society.

- either we accept intensive production and the huge reduction in the number of farmers in the sole interests of the World Market, - or, we create a farmer's agriculture for the benefit of everyone.

Genetically modified maize is also the symbol of a system of agriculture and a type of society which I refuse to accept. Genetically modified maize is purely the product of technology, where the means become the end.

Political choices are swept aside by the power of money.

Agriculture is a perfect illustration of this type of logic, which pervades every facet of food production. Agricultural production has now become the agro-industry. From the farmers who formed their small cooperatives, we have seen a conversion to the firms who have rationalised their systems of production in order to maximise profits on their investments. Since the 1920s, maize in the USA has been hybridised in order to oblige all farmers to buy seeds through a trust. The trusts merged in order to invest in new techniques, which were capable of releasing new profits.

Novartis, the world's leading pharmaceutical group, invests billions in order to remain number one: they sell seeds, herbicides, pesticides and medicines. But competition is strong, and as a result of the merger which took place between two of their main competitors last week, they have announced a plan to lay-off 2000 employees in order to assure their shareholders of the profitability of the company.

Is it this kind of logic we want?

No - I reject this lurch forwards where the aim of the economy isn't to satisfy needs, but is merely production for production's sake, without any link to the interests of the individual or the whole.

Do we need genetically modified maize in Europe?

No - in 1997 the maize production increased yet again. It's overflowing the silos. The European Union has to stock the excess. And who's got to pay for this - citizens. Who needs these new seeds? No-one - it's only Novartis who wants to get the returns on its investment and remain the number one pharmaceutical group in the world!

By destroying the genetically modified maize seeds on the 8th of January at the Novartis factory in Nerac, we wanted to put this short-sighted logic into the spotlight.

A democratic debate simply doesn't exist. The conspiracy of silence organised by the companies and the sovereign states is the sole logic which prevails. Like with the blood contaminated with the HIV virus, or mad cow disease, the public mustn't be alarmed. Everything has to be allowed to continue in silence.

By appearing before you today, I'm aware of being in breach of the law which wants every citizen to be content with expressing her or his views by simply putting their vote in the urn every six years. But it's not in this way that social and economic problems are resolved - on the contrary.

Through the action which we undertook and for which we are being judged, we kicked-off a vast citizen's movement which refuses the use of GMOs in foodstuffs for animals and for humans. These actions will stop when this mad logic comes to a halt.

Yes, this action was illegal, but I lay claim to it because it was legitimate. I don't demand clemency, but justice. Either we have acted in everyone's interest and you will acquit us, or we have shaken the establishment and in that case you will punish us.

There is no other issue.

3rd February 1998, Agen, France

JOSE BOVE

Confederation Paysanne Traduction

Arnaud Apoteker Greenpeace France 21, rue Godot de Mauroy 75009 Paris,

Australian Gen-Ethics Network

c/- Acf 340 Gore Street, Fitzroy 3065 Tel 9416 2222

Friends of the Earth Anti-Genetic Engineering Collective

312 Smith Street Collingwood 3066.

Tel 9419 8700 foefitzroy@peg.apc.org



Contact List

Anarcho-Syndicalist Group of Melbourne - Melbourne local of workers organising for their own emancipation. Seeks affiliation to the International Workers Association which has sections in 17 countries of the world. PO Box 98, Brunswick Lower 3056

email: asg-m@xchange.apana.org.au

Anarcho-Syndicalist International Secretary (Australia) - PO Box 678 Hamilton 2303 NSW

Anarres Books - sell a wide range of anarchist materials by mail order and run bookstalls at various events PO Box 150 East Brunswick 3057

email: anarres@anarki.net

Web site: <http://www.anarki.net/anarres/>

Angry People - network of people across Australia organising working class communities against racism, sexism, capitalism. Publish a magazine and produce stickers, t-shirts. Put on Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin tour Melbourne contact: PO Box 74 Coburg 3058 Sydney contact: PO Box 108 St. Peters 2044 NSW, Darwin: PO Box 4768 Northern Territory 0801

Anarchist Black Cross (Melbourne) - supports and campaigns to release class war and anti-state prisoners world-wide PO Box 199 East Brunswick 3056

Activate - anarchist youth network PO Box 503 Newtown 2042 NSW email: copsaretops@hotmail.com

Web-site: www.activate.8m.com

Barricade Books/Info Shop - 115 Sydney Road Brunswick 3056 ph: 9387 6646

email: infoshop@bedlam.apana.org.au

Barricade Library Publishing - publishes out of print and new radical writings, run by a collective of volunteers PO Box 199 East Brunswick 3056

Black Rose - Anarchist bookshop 583A King Street Newtown 2042 NSW, ph (02) 9519 9194

Brisbane Zapatista Front - PO Box 5208 West End Brisbane 4101 QUEENSLAND

email: dainishi@thehub.co.au

Burning Times - homocore zine PO Box 425

Clifton Hill 3068 email: burntime@melbourne.net

Cantankerous - anarcho-feminist zine PO Box 756 Brunswick Lower 3056

Compcoll - anarchist computer collective PO Box 756 Brunswick Lower 3056

Dishpigs - radical kitchen-hand union PO Box 383 Brunswick 3056

Dry Wretch distribution - GPO Box 1200 Hobart 7001 Tasmania

Food Not Bombs - Distributes free vegan food to the hungry Melbourne - Sundays Fitzroy st St Kilda 8-9 pm Tuesdays Smith st Fitzroy 7.30-9pm (also happening in Sydney, Adelaide and Tasmania)

Griffith Uni Anarchist Club/"The Libertarian Ecologist" - 18 Audenshaw St Highgate Hill 4101 Brisbane

IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) - Australian Regional Organising Committee PO Box 78 Bellingen 2454 NSW, e-mail: roc@au.iww.org

web-site: <http://www.au.iww.org/australia>

Lismore Group: PO Box 392 Lismore 2480 NSW
lismore@au.iww.org

South Australia PO Box 152 Birdwood 5234 SA

Sydney PO Box 241 Surry Hills 2010 NSW

Tasmania 27 Emma St Bracknell 7302 TAS

Victoria PO Box 145 Moreland 3058 VIC email: margaret@au.iww.org

Jura Books - 440 Parramatta Road, Petersham 2049, NSW

NUTS-Psychiatric survivors network - PO Box 279 Abbotsford 3067, Victoria

Newcastle Anarchist Group/ "Defiance"/Newcastle Angry People - PO Box 678, Hamilton Newcastle 2303, NSW

Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society - put out a weekly news commentary, monthly review, run Anarchist Media Institute and do a 10am Wednesday Radio show "Anarchist World this Week" on 3CR 855AM. Hold meetings on the Ground Floor Ross House 247 Flinders Lane Melbourne on 3rd Thursday each month (telephone to confirm) PO Box 20 Parkville 3052 Tel: 9828 2856 (24 hour message centre) Fax 9482-4371 email: anarchistage@geocities.com

web-site: <http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/3879>

McPropaganda - exposes the evils of McDonalds (poor non-union working conditions, shit food, eco-destroyers etc) PO Box 199 East Brunswick 3057

Mother Earth - anarcho-feminist zine PO Box 1102 Upwey 3158

Melbourne Anarchist Research Group - PO Box 5035 Alphington 3078 email: edujdr@lure.latrobe.edu.au

No World Order - bilingual Greek/English radio show of international news and anti-state sounds from Greece. Fridays 10-30pm-midnight 3CR 855AM

Neither Master Nor Slave - PO Box 24 Balaclava 3183, Victoria email: nmns@earthling.com

Prisoner's Action Group - campaigning for the rights of prisoners and the abolition of prisons. Do a radio show on Mondays 5pm 3CR 855AM co-operates with **Peoples Justice Alliance** - expose privatisation of prisons and focus on the situation of women in prisons particularly PO Box 1277 Collingwood 3066

Red & Black - Anarchist periodical PO Box 12, Quamma 2550 NSW

SCAM - anarchist publishing and distribution group PO Box 756 Brunswick Lower 3056

Sparks/Rebel Worker/"All Scrap" - PO Box 92 Broadway, 2007 NSW email: rworker@chaos.apana.org.au

Spiral Objective Distribution - PO Box 126 Oaklands Park 5046 South Australia

SUUWA (squatters and unwaged workers airwaves) - Fridays 11am on 3CR 855AM c/- 3CR 21 Smith St Fitzroy 3065 Victoria

Wildcat Collective - PO Box 8085 Hindley St Adelaide, South Australia email: wildcat@start.com.au

Worker Solidarity - c/- PO Box 199 East Brunswick 3057 Victoria

Sorry about the Melbourne focus - there's a bunch of interstate places and groups whose addresses I couldn't find...

News Flash:

The Second International Conference On Drug War Prisoners will be held at York University in Toronto, Canada on March 20-21, 1999. Organizations are welcome to participate. Papers from academic, activist, and especially POW standpoint are sought. For more information contact: Dr. John Beresford/Committee On Unjust Sentencing/P.O. Box 76665/Los Angeles, CA 90076/USA/johnber@earthlink.net

if you can stuff all
your earthly possessions
into a bag that
only reaches up to
your hips and if you
can carry this
bag on your
shoulders...

then the
cannons
will rust
and the
castles of
the oppressors
will fall...

at the sound of
the shepherds
pipe...
ret. marat.
1921.

